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THE VICTORY PARADE IN PARIS (Page 182)

The World's Great Events

An Indexed History of the World
from Earliest Times to the Present Day

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THE ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND

(A.D. 1914)

R. W. SETON-WATSON

 ONCE more the hand of the assassin has rudely *Francis Ferdinand*
torn the delicate web of European policy and *assassinated.*
removed one of those rare personalities who
seem destined to leave their mark upon their generation.
The Archduke Francis Ferdinand was born in 1863, the
eldest son of the Archduke Charles Louis, third brother
of the present Emperor—a simple, lovable man who
played no great part in politics. The Archduke's mother
was Princess Theresia Annunciata, daughter of Ferdi-
nand II., King of the two Sicilies—a name of ill omen
in the history of Italian liberty. Left a widower when
his eldest boy was only eight, Charles Louis married a
Portuguese Princess, and it was under her care that
Francis Ferdinand and his two brothers grew to man-
hood. In accordance with the tradition of his family
the young Archduke entered the army at an early age,
and seemed likely to follow the usual career of a junior

*Heir to
the Haps-
burg throne.*

scion of what is the most prolific reigning house of Europe, when a sudden tragedy drew him forth from comparative obscurity. In January, 1889, Crown Prince Rudolph committed suicide in an Alpine shooting lodge, under circumstances which will probably never be fully explained; and Francis Ferdinand became—after his father, living in complete retirement—the next heir to the Hapsburg throne.

It was in 1900 that an event occurred which revealed the Archduke as a man of strong will and determination. During a visit to his cousins, the Archduke and the Archduchess Isabella, at Pressburg, he made the acquaintance of their lady-in-waiting, Countess Sophie Chotek, the younger daughter of an ancient but somewhat impoverished Bohemian family—one of the very few which had not altogether thrown off its Czech traditions. The attentions which it was supposed were being paid to one of the six daughters of the archducal pair, were in reality bestowed upon the maid of honor; and when this became known, every effort was made to thwart the match. But Francis Ferdinand overbore all opposition, and insisted upon a free choice. The marriage which took place on July 1, 1900, was preceded by a solemn renunciation of the succession for his future children.

Throughout the stormy decade (1903-1913), the Archduke, while keeping a jealous watch over the military policy as a whole, was untiring in his efforts for the improvement of all arms of the service, the introduction

of greater efficiency, the raising of the social status of the officers and the material comfort of the men. Finally, in September, 1913, the Emperor created in his nephew's favor the new post of "Inspector General of the entire armed forces of the Monarchy," thereby tacitly recognizing the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Army, as it was at the close of the second Balkan War, was to a very large extent what Francis Ferdinand had made it during years of restless reorganization.

*Inspector
General
of the Army.*

Not less important was the Archduke's interest in the navy; indeed, the entry of Austria-Hungary upon the sphere of naval competition must be directly ascribed to his initiative.

Time after time in recent years journalists have discussed the question whether Francis Ferdinand was Slavophil, Roumanophil, Magyarophobe. All such speculation was on utterly wrong lines. From first to last his policy never wavered; it was neither German nor Slav, but simply Hapsburg. He weighed men and tendencies in a dynastic balance, and accepted or rejected them simply as they rose or sank in the scale of dynastic interests.

The Balkan Wars completed a process which had long been noticeable to attentive observers; and to-day the question of internal constitutional change is inextricably bound up with the main problems of foreign policy. The Balkan upheaval brought the Southern Slav and Roumanian questions into line, and Austria-Hun-

gary must adapt her system to the interests and sentiments of her own seven million Southern Slav and four million Roumanian subjects, if her relations with Servia and Roumania are to be tolerable, and if her influence is to make itself felt in the Balkans.

*Dualism
and
Trialism.*

These considerations had long weighed with Francis Ferdinand, and for some years past rumor had credited him with the intention of superseding Dualism by "Trialism," through the creation of a Southern Slav Kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia, Herzegovina) under the Hapsburg sceptre.

Francis Ferdinand was fully alive to the dangers which threaten the Monarchy from the growth of Pan-Serb tendencies. He realized what many Austrian and Hungarian statesmen are too shortsighted to admit, that an idea can only be combated by an idea, that the staple methods of the police state, as so often applied in Croatia and Bosnia, merely fan discontent to fever heat.

It would be mere folly to ignore the fact that to every Servian of the Kingdom Francis Ferdinand seemed an irreconcilable enemy, the leader of the war party and the personification of Austrian Imperialism in a form which seemed to threaten Servia's existence.

*Kiel Canal
is opened.*

[June 24, 1914, Emperor William II. formally opens the reconstructed Kiel Canal. July 1, the conference of the A. B. C. Powers at Niagara Falls, intended to make peace in Mexico, comes to an end without a result. July

23, Austria presents to Serbia an ultimatum with a time limit of forty-eight hours. July 25, Serbia replies to Austrian ultimatum expressing the impossibility of carrying out all the terms contained in it. July 26, Germany warns other powers not to interfere with Austria in her dealings with Serbia. English, French and Russian diplomats begin efforts to prevent war. July 28, Austria declares war on Serbia. Mme. Caillaux, wife of the former French Premier, is acquitted of the murder of Gaston Calmett, editor of *Figaro*. July 29, Austrian forces bombard Belgrade and Russia begins a partial mobilization. July 30, Germany demands the cessation of Russian mobilization. July 31, Jean Jaurès, leader of the French Socialist Party, is assassinated. August 1, Germany declares war upon Russia, and France declares mobilization. Italy notifies Germany that she will remain neutral. August 2, German troops enter the Duchy of Luxemburg and German forces appear before Liege, Belgium. Belgium refuses the passage of German troops through its territory. August 3, the German Ambassador to Paris demands his passports and the French Ambassador to Berlin is recalled. War is declared between France and Germany. German troops invade Belgium, which appeals to Great Britain for aid. The first test trip of an ocean-going steamship in the Panama Canal is made by the *Cristobal*. On August 4, Great Britain declares war on Germany and the House of Commons votes a war credit of 525 million dollars. The German Reichstag

*Ultimatum
to Serbia.*

*Belgrade
bombarded.*

*Belgium
invaded.*

*Great Brit-
ain de-
clares war.*

*British
troops land
in Belgium.*

*Great
Britain at
war with
Austria.*

votes one billion and 252 million dollars for carrying on the war. Germany notifies Belgium of the existence of a state of war between the two countries. The United States proclaims its neutrality. August 5, the Germans attack Liege. Earl Kitchener is appointed British Secretary of State for War. August 6, Austria-Hungary declares war upon Russia. August 8, British troops land in Belgium. Portugal declares herself an ally of Great Britain. French troops enter Alsace-Lorraine. French and German troops meet in their first clash in the Vosges. August 9, Norway and Sweden agree with each other to maintain the neutrality of both nations. August 10, France declares war on Austria-Hungary. On August 12, Great Britain declares war on Austria-Hungary. On August 13, Japan sends an ultimatum to Germany. August 23, the Great Retreat of the English and French Armies from Mons begins. August 27, Namur is captured by the Germans. On August 30, the Allied Forces continue to retire in the direction of Paris. On September 1, the city of St. Petersburg is renamed Petrograd, by Imperial edict. On September 2, in a treaty between Panama and the United States, the latter country is given control of Colon and Ancon. On September 3, the French Government moves from Paris to Bordeaux. On September 12, the Germans retreat from the Marne. September 14, Germans reach the Aisne and the Allied armies attempt to cross, in the face of bitter resistance. On September 14, the Allies cross the Aisne near Sois-

sons. On September 15, the British House of Lords passes a resolution suspending the operation of the Irish Home Rule Bill. On September 16, the Russian northern army is forced behind the River Niemen. On September 18, the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Rheims suffers heavy bombardment from German guns. On October 8, Germans enter Antwerp. October 26, Gavrilo Prinzip and 23 accomplices are found guilty of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife. October 28, Sir Ernest Shackleton starts on his expedition to the Antarctic. November 5, Great Britain and France declare war on Turkey. On November 27, the invading German army in Russian Poland is driven back in disorder. On December 2, Belgrade is taken by the Austrians. On December 3, the Italian Premier declares that Italy will, for the present, maintain neutrality. On December 6, the Battle of Lodz, in Russian Poland, which began on November 19, is ended, with an inconclusive German victory. Belgrade is recaptured by the Serbians. On December 24, the Germans defeat the Russian forces at Mlawa in northern Poland. The entire Russian Army begins a retreat.

*Irish Home
Rule Bill
suspended.*

*Germans
take Ant-
werp.*

*Serbians
recapture
Belgrade.*

On January 3, 1915, the Russian Army defeats the Turkish forces in the Caucasus. On January 13, an earthquake in central Italy destroys many towns and kills about 30,000 people. The Germans begin an offensive at Soissons and capture several villages. On January 24, a naval engagement is fought between British and German

British and
German
fleets clash.

Submarine
War Zone.

Germany
makes offer.

William P.
Fry sunk.

fleets. The German armored cruiser *Blücher* is sunk and the other German vessels flee. On January 25, the first telephone conversation is held between New York and San Francisco. On February 4, Germany declares a War Zone of the waters around Great Britain and Ireland, to go into effect on February 18. On February 10, the Russian Army suffers a disastrous defeat in East Prussia. On February 16, Germany proposes to the United States Government an offer to abandon making attacks on British merchant ships, provided Great Britain can be persuaded to allow the free passage of foodstuffs to German civilian population. On February 18, the German decree creating a War Zone in the waters around Great Britain and Ireland goes into effect. On February 19, mobs in Italy parade the streets of Rome demanding intervention on the side of the Allies. On February 20, the Panama-Pacific Exposition opens. On February 24, Germans capture Przasnysz, an important strategic point in Russian Poland. On February 27, the *William P. Fry*, an American sailing vessel, is sunk by a German cruiser. On March 1, Great Britain and France announce their intention to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany. On March 3, diplomatic agents of China and Japan agree to the extension for a period of 99 years of the Japanese lease of the ports of Dalny and Port Arthur. On March 16, the battleship *Pennsylvania* is launched at Newport News, Va. On March 22, the Austrian fortress of Przemyśl surrenders

to the Russian Army. On March 25, the United States submarine *F-4*, sinks in Honolulu Harbor with a loss of a crew of 21 men. On April 3, Bulgarian soldiers cross the frontier and attack Serbians guarding the border. On April 8, the German cruiser *Prinz Eitel* is interned at Newport News. On April 22, the Second Battle of Ypres begins. On April 26, the German cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm* is interned at Newport News. On May 7, the transatlantic liner *Lusitania* is sunk by a German submarine, with a loss of 1,150 persons, including over 100 Americans. On May 13, the American Government protests to Germany over the sinking of the *Lusitania*. On August 21, Italy declares war against Turkey. On September 1, the German Ambassador declares that no more passenger ships will be sunk without warning. On September 29, British forces defeat the Turks in Mesopotamia. On October 13, Edith Cavell is shot by the Germans as a spy. On October 14, Bulgaria declares war on Serbia. On October 20, the United States declares an embargo on the importation of arms into Mexico. On November 10, Yoshihito is crowned Emperor of Japan. On December 3, the American Government demands the recall of Captains Boy-Ed and Von Papen, German diplomats. On December 15, the German army evacuates Macedonia. Sir Douglas Haig is appointed commander in chief of the British forces in France. On December 19, the British carry out a successful evacuation of Anzac and Suvla Bay, Gallipoli.

*Bulgarians
invade
Serbia.*

*Lusitania
torpedoed.*

*Execution
of Edith
Cavell.*

*Haig is
British
commander
in chief.*

*British
evacuate
Gallipoli.*

On January 9, 1916, the British successfully evacuate Gallipoli. On January 8, Germany notifies the United States that vessels will be sunk only when carrying contraband of war and that the safety of crews will be provided for. On January 10, nineteen Americans are killed by Mexican bandits. On January 15, the Ford "Peace Pilgrims" sail for the United States. On March 9, 1,500 brigands under the command of Villa attack the town of Columbus, N. Mex., killing nine citizens and eight soldiers.

*Villa's raid
on
Columbus,
N. Mex.*

*President
Wilson on
the sub-
marine
issue.*

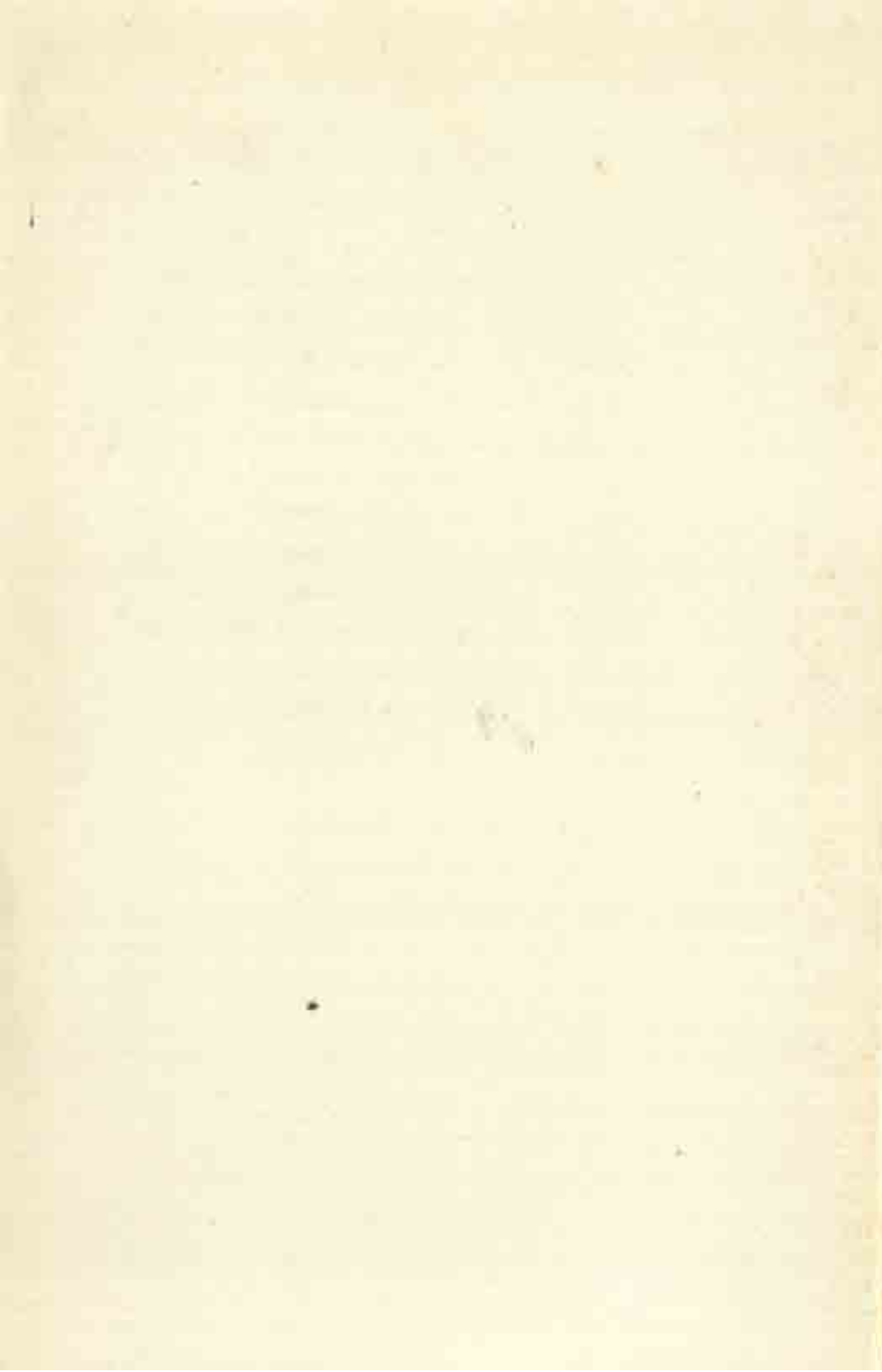
On March 15, an American expedition under General J. J. Pershing enters Mexico in pursuit of Villa. On April 18, Secretary Lansing declares to Germany that relations will be severed if submarine attacks on steamships continue. On April 19, President Wilson addresses Congress on the submarine issue. On April 22, Sir Roger Casement is captured on the Irish coast. On April 24, a revolt breaks out in Dublin. On April 27, martial law is declared throughout Ireland. On April 29, the surrender of General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara is announced. On May 3, several leaders of the Irish rebellion are executed for treason. On May 5, activity is renewed along the entire eastern front. On May 12, James Connolly, Commander in Chief of the Irish revolutionists, is executed. On May 31, the British and German fleets fight off Jutland. On June 5, Earl Kitchener and many others are lost when the British cruiser *Hampshire* is destroyed by a mine or torpedo off the Orkney Islands.

*Battle of
Jutland
Bank.*



RHEIMS CATHEDRAL BEFORE ITS BOMBARDMENT (*Page 7*)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH



On June 10, Charles E. Hughes is nominated by the Republicans for President. On June 15, Woodrow Wilson is renominated for the presidency by the Democrats. On June 29, Sir Roger Casement is convicted of treason. On July 6, David Lloyd George is appointed Secretary of War for Great Britain. On August 3, Sir Roger Casement is hanged in London. On August 27, Rumania declares war on Austria-Hungary. On August 30, Field Marshal von Hindenburg succeeds General von Falkenhayn as chief of staff of the German armies. On September 3, Lieutenant Sir Ernest H. Shackleton, having rescued the members of his Antarctic Expedition who were marooned on Elephant Island, reaches Punta Arenas, Chile, with his men safe and well on board the rescue ship *Yelcho*. On September 7, the United States Senate ratifies the treaty between the United States and Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies Islands for \$25,000,000.

On November 1, the German submarine merchantman *Deutschland* arrives at New London, its second trip to the United States, bringing a \$10,000,000 cargo of chemicals, gems and securities. The trip is made in seventeen days. On November 5, a new kingdom of Poland is proclaimed by the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, confined to territory conquered from Russia. On November 19, Ruth Law, in a Curtiss airplane, breaks the American long-distance continuous-flight record. She flies from Chicago to Hornell, 668 miles, without alight-

Sir Roger Casement convicted of treason.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg becomes chief of staff.

German submarine Deutschland arrives at New London, Conn.

ing, breaking the record made seventeen days before by Victor Carlstrom. On November 21, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, dies at Schönbrunn Castle, near Vienna, at the age of 86. His nephew, Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, succeeds him on the throne. On November 22, Charles E. Hughes concedes his defeat for the Presidency. On November 29, Admiral Sir David Beatty is appointed to command the British grand fleet, succeeding Jellicoe. On December 5, Herbert H. Asquith resigns as Prime Minister. On December 7, David Lloyd George accepts the British post of Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

On January 10, 1917, the Allied Governments state their terms of peace; a separate note from Belgium is included. On January 22, President Wilson addresses the Senate, giving his ideas of the steps necessary for world peace. On January 31, Germany announces unrestricted submarine warfare in specified zones. On February 3, the United States severs diplomatic relations with Germany; Bernstorff is dismissed. On February 24, Kut-el-Amara is taken by the British under General Maude (campaign was begun on December 13, 1916). On February 28, the "Zimmerman note" is made public. On March 14, it is announced that the British have taken over from the French the entire Somme front; the British hold 100 miles on the west front; the French, 175 miles; the Belgians, 25 miles. In March 11-15, revolution in Russia leads to the abdication of Czar Nicholas II. (March 15.);

Charles Francis Joseph succeeds as Emperor of Austria.

Lloyd George becomes British Prime Minister.

Unrestricted submarine warfare.

Russian Revolution.

a provisional government is formed by the Constitutional Democrats under Prince Lvov and M. Milyukov. On March 12, the United States announces that an armed guard will be placed on each American merchant vessel sailing through the War Zone. On March 22, the United States formally recognizes the new Government of Russia set up as a result of the Revolution. On March 27, Minister Brand Whitlock and the American Relief Commission are withdrawn from Belgium. On April 2, President Wilson asks Congress to declare the existence of a state of war with Germany.] *Wilson's war message.*

HOW AMERICA WENT TO WAR

(A.D. 1917)

L. G. ALLEN

ACTUAL warfare between the United States and Germany came into effect on the afternoon of April 6, 1917, when President Wilson signed a resolution passed by Congress empowering him to declare war. *Congress passes a resolution of war.*

During the preceding months of 1917, circumstances had pointed inevitably to the participation of America in the war. The immediate cause was the refusal of Germany to modify or withdraw her purpose to employ submarines to destroy every sailing vessel which sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. The President attempted to avoid the issue of the war by the inauguration of the policy of armed neutrality. This, however, failed completely. German submarines continued to sink unarmed American vessels and in the month of March the steamers *Algonquin*, *City* *Germany's submarine warfare.* *Unarmed vessels are sunk without warning.*

of *Memphis, Illinois*, and *Vigilancia* were sunk without warning and to the express satisfaction of German authorities.

On March 21 the President issued a proclamation calling upon Congress to assemble on April 2 "to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy."

When Congress convened, President Wilson delivered an address in which he summoned up attempts to avoid war with Germany and declared that further temporizing was useless.

Of the German conduct of the war, he said, "It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion."

Following the delivery of this message, a resolution declaring war on Germany was passed by the House and

The President's war message.

A challenge to all mankind.

America's motives.

by the Senate; and it was approved by the President on April 6, 1917. This resolution is as follows:

War resolution is passed and approved.

"Joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas, the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Germany has committed repeated acts of war.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

State of war formally declared.

The immediate succession of events proved that the country was heartily behind the President and Congress. Orders were issued by the Navy Department for the mobilization of the fleet and the Naval Reserve was called to the colors. An emergency fund of \$100,000,000 was voted by Congress, to be used by the President at his

The country behind the President.

discretion. Ninety-one German ships¹ moored in various ports were at once seized by the American Government.

There were at once introduced into Congress measures to provide money for bringing the country into a state of war. Great issues of bonds were authorized to finance the Allies and to provide funds for the American campaign. New methods of taxation were devised and put into effect. Provision was made for the control of food, for the building of airships, for the prevention of trading with the enemy. An espionage bill was passed, and a measure was enacted providing for compulsory military service by selective draft.

A great shipbuilding program was undertaken under the leadership of General Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal.

Congress voted \$640,000,000 for building 22,000 airships and for raising and equipping American aviators.

The first Liberty Loan was floated on May 4, 1917. Under the provisions of the Selective Draft Law, the President in a stirring proclamation issued on May 18, 1917, called upon every man in the country between the ages of 21 and 30 to register his readiness to be called upon for army service. Registry Day was fixed for June 5, 1917. The number registered was 9,649,938, from which the first army was to be drafted. The draft,

¹ Among these was the great liner *Vaterland*, which became the American *Leviathan*. The *Leviathan* and other of the seized vessels, weirdly painted for purposes of camouflage, carried American troops overseas.

which was practically a great lottery, establishing the order in which the registrants were to be called in war service, took place on July 17, in Washington. The new citizen force was known as the National Army, as distinguished from the Regular Army and the National Guard, and was organized into sixteen divisions. Cantonments which were literally Army cities were constructed in various sections of the country. President Wilson decided to send in advance of the main army an expeditionary Force to France. As the Commander of the Army being formed, Major General John J. Pershing was selected.

National Army.

Pershing selected to command Expeditionary Force.

News of the safe arrival of General Pershing at England was announced, June 8, 1917.² American Warships convoyed the vessels carrying American troops, who landed in France on June 26, 1917.

The First Division in France.

A section of the French battle front had already been selected for the training of American troops. Troops were at once sent to these bases, which included aviation, artillery and medical camps. By the close of July, 1917, actual intensive work was under way.

[On April 6, United States declares war on Germany. On April 8, Austria-Hungary severs diplomatic relations with the United States. On May 15, General Petain succeeds General Nivelle as commander in chief of the French armies. On May 17, Russian Provisional Govern-

United States declares war on Germany.

² General Pershing reached France five days later—June 13, 1917.

King Constantine of Greece abdicates.

ment is reconstructed. Kerensky (former Minister of Justice) becomes Minister of War. Milyukoff resigns. On May 18, President Wilson signs Selective Service Act. June 3, American Mission to Russia lands at Vladivostok ("Root Mission"); returns to America, August 3. On June 12, King Constantine of Greece is forced to abdicate. On June 15, subscriptions close for First Liberty Loan (\$2,000,000,000 offered; \$3,035,226,850 subscribed). On June 26, first American troops reach France. On July 20, drawing takes place at Washington of names for first army under selective service. On July 20, Kerensky becomes Premier on resignation of Prince Lvoff.

National Army mobilizes.

On August 13 the War Department orders the mobilization of the new National Army in four increments, the first to entrain September 5. On September 3, the soldiers of the National Army are welcomed into the service of the nation by President Wilson, and on the following day the first of the New York quota of the new National Army march in review down Fifth Avenue. Similar parades are held in all the leading cities of the country. In the meantime, the various National Guard regiments have been assigned to their training camps and are daily concentrating. On September 15, Russia is proclaimed a republic.

Russia proclaimed a republic.

On September 21 it is announced from France that American soldiers are just back of the British firing line. On October 24, the great German-Austrian counterdrive

into Italy is begun; Italian line shifts to Piave River, Asiago Plateau, and Brenta River. The first American soldiers to be killed in the war met death on November 3, when a small detachment of American Infantrymen was attacked in the French line trenches by a superior force of Germans. The Americans were cut off by heavy barrage fire in the rear. Three were killed and five wounded. Those killed were Corporal James B. Gresham of Evansville, Ind.; Private Thomas F. Enright of Pittsburgh, Penn.; and Private Merle D. Hay of Glidden, Iowa. These men were buried on the slope of a hill overlooking a small village, and within the enclosure was inscribed in French, as follows:

*First
American
soldiers
killed.*

Here lie the first soldiers of the great Republic of the United States who died on the soil of France for justice and liberty, November 3, 1917

On November 7, Kerensky and Provisional Government of Russia are overthrown by the Bolsheviki. On November 13, Clemenceau succeeds Ribot as French Premier. On November 29, first plenary session of the Inter-Allied Conference is held at Paris; sixteen nations represented; Colonel E. M. House is Chairman of the American Delegation. On December 5, President Wilson, in a message to Congress, advises war on Austria. On December 7, United States declares war on Austria-Hungary. On December 9, Jerusalem is captured by

*Bolsheviki
overthrow
Kerensky.*

*U.S.
declares
war on
Austria-
Hungary.*

*Armistice
at Brest-
Litovsk.*

British force advancing from Egypt. On December 13, Berlin announces armistice negotiations with Russia begin December 14. Armistice Agreement between Bolshevik Government and Central Powers is signed at Brest-Litovsk on December 15.]

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAJOR AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN FRANCE, 1918

(A.D. 1918)

GENERAL P. C. MARCH

APRIL 28-29. A sector in the vicinity of Breteuil, northwest of Montdidier, was occupied by the First Division.

May 28. Cantigny was captured by the First Division. *First Division takes Cantigny.*
A detachment of our troops, re-enforced by French artillery, successfully attacked the enemy on a front of about 2,220 yards. We occupied Cantigny, captured some 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

June 10. The Second Division attacked in Bois de Belleau, advancing the line 900 yards on a front of 1½ miles, capturing 300 prisoners, 30 machine guns, 4 trench mortars, and stores of small arms, ammunition, and equipment. Held all of Hill 204 down to the village on the northeast slope, thus preventing the enemy from concentrating his forces in the northern part of Château-Thierry. *The Second Division advances in Belleau Wood.*

*An air raid
near Metz.*

June 11. The Second Division continued its advance in the Bois de Belleau, capturing more prisoners and machine guns and two 77 mm. field pieces. Our aviators executed their first bombing raid, dropping numerous bombs on the railway station at Dommary-Baroncourt, northwest of Metz. All of our planes returned in safety. The artillery of the Second Division shelled the enemy in their areas, preventing concentration near Torcy, Monthièrs, Hill 128, and La Gonetie farm. It discovered and dispersed a group of 210 machine guns in the wood south of Etrepilly. The Second Division captured the last of the German positions in the Bois de Belleau, taking 50 prisoners, machine guns, and trench mortars.

*Belleau
Wood is
cleared of
the enemy.*

July 18. French and American troops advanced under the cover of a heavy storm on the front between Soissons and Château-Thierry. The greatest advance was in the northern part of the sector, where a depth of 5 miles was attained, and we reached heights southwest of Soissons, dominating the railroad and highways.

*Franco-
Americans
advance
to new
line.*

July 24. The advance of the Franco-American forces continued, and in the evening the line ran east of Buzancy to Tigny, to Hartennes, Grand Rozoy, Ouichy-le-Château, Armentières, Coincy, Courpoil, and then joined the old line at Jaulgonne. West of Rheims Marfaux was retaken and the line ran from Aubilly, through Mézy, and joined the old line at Coulommès.

July 25. The line ran from the Ourcq to the Marne, where the Allied troops advanced 6 kms. in the center

and 3 to 4 kms. on the flanks. The line in the evening ran from Armentières to Bruyères, the eastern edge of the Bois de la Tourmelle, the eastern edge of Beuvardes, the eastern edge of Le Charnel, the cross roads at Gros Chêne, La Boulangère, the northern edge of Treloup, Chassins. *Changes in front from day to day.*

July 26. The line ran: Nanteuil, Notre Dames, Hill 123, Hill 118, La Misère, Hill 100, southwestern part of Bois de la Tournelle, Hill 111, Le Charnel. Hard fighting continued all day and the French and Americans steadily advanced on Fère. *Progress toward Fère.*

July 27. The Forty-second Division tried to cross the Ourcq, but was driven back by heavy artillery fire.

July 28. The Forty-second Division renewed the assault, crossed the river, and after vigorous fighting took Seringes-et-Nesles, Nesles, and Sergy. The Twenty-eighth Division held the line about 1 kilometer north of the Ourcq. During the day slow progress was made, the enemy slowly falling back after bitter rear-guard action. *Forty-second takes Sergy.*

July 29. Franco-American troops advanced 3 kilometers from Oulchy to Villers Agron and Bougneux, Saponay, Seringes, Nesles, and Cierges, were included within our lines.

July 30. Our pressure continued on the right bank of the Ourcq. The railroad station at Fère and Cayenne farm remained in our possession. We lost Seringes-et-Nesles, but reoccupied Sergy, Hill 312, and the woods 8 kilometers north of Ronchères. *Seringes-et-Nesles lost but retaken.*

July 31. The Twenty-eighth Division retook Seringes-et-Nesles. The Thirty-second Division attacked in Crimpettes Woods with success; the woods were taken, and troops advanced to Cierges. German counterattacks were brilliantly repulsed with the bayonet, and an immense amount of material and equipment was taken from the enemy.

*Allies take
Soissons.*

August 3. After continuous fighting late in the evening Soissons was taken, and a line extending along the Vesle to between Braisne and Bazoches was being consolidated. South of the Aisne our troops drove back the enemy rear guard. Acting with the Fourth Division, the Thirty-second Division reached a line from Ville Savoye to a point just north of St. Gilles.

*The
Thirty-second
and takes
Fismes.*

August 4. A large enemy patrol attacked in the vicinity of Coulées, but was driven off by a combat group of the Fifth Division, which had been re-enforced. Our troops were very active in patrolling, having sent out over seven reconnoissance, combat, and ambush patrols. The Thirty-second Division took Fismes. In an eight-day battle this division forced the passage of the Ourcq, took prisoners from six enemy divisions, met, routed, and decimated a crack division of the Prussian Guards, a Bavarian division, and one other enemy division, and drove the enemy line back for 16 kilometers.

August 6. The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack the objective of which was the north bank of the Vesle. The attack was met by exceedingly heavy ma-

chine-gun and artillery fire. On the right our troops succeeded in crossing the river and advancing to the highway which runs from Rheims to Soissons.

Twenty-eighth crosses the Vesle.

August 7. The units on the left advanced across the river and occupied the railroad lines on the north bank. The casualties resulting from this operation were considerable. A violent enemy counterattack was completely repulsed, and a number of prisoners and machine guns were left in our hands.

August 8. As a result of successful operations on the evening of August 8, 11 companies of infantry and some machine-gun detachments of the Twenty-eighth Division reached the north bank of Vesle.

August 10. The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack in Fismette. A creeping barrage moved ahead of them. They made some progress, but were soon exposed to flanking fire from both the east and the west and were forced to fall back into Fismette. The position here was very difficult. Flanking machine-gun fire came from both sides and heavy casualties were reported. A box barrage was placed around the town and ammunition was sent up. The town was held by one battalion, with one machine-gun platoon, which received orders to hold the position at all cost.

Hard fighting at Fismette.

August 17. After strong artillery preparation the infantry of the Fifth Division captured the village of Frapelle and consolidated the lines north of the road running into the town from the southeast.

Fifth takes Frapelle.

August 19. The enemy continued shelling Frapelle positions and the artillery of the Fifth Division replied actively.

August 21. The Fifth Division repulsed hostile attack with heavy loss to the enemy and with no casualties to ourselves. The Thirty-second Division acting with the Tenth French Army advanced to and held Juvigny. The Seventy-seventh Division cleared the small wood between the Vesle and the railroad west of Château du Diable.

September 3. During the five days prior to September 3 the Thirty-second Division made daily advances against the enemy, gaining 6 kilometers through very difficult terrain and against violent opposition. It captured 11 officers and 920 enlisted men. A large amount of guns and munitions were captured. A patrol of the Seventy-seventh Division penetrated to Bazoches.

September 5. French and American units advanced in the Oise-Rheims area as far as Condé. Strong patrols of the Seventy-seventh Division were pushed forward north of the Vesle and were encountered by machine-gun resistance. Our casualties were slight. The Twenty-eighth Division crossed the Vesle in force and pursued the enemy to the north.

September 6. The artillery of the Twenty-eighth Division directed harassing and destructive fire on the Aisne bridges, while the enemy harassed the villages in our rear areas, using a great number of gas shells.

September 7. The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed

*Seventy-seventh
clears a
wood.*

*Thirty-second
advances.*

*Attack on
Aisne
bridges.*

two enemy counterattacks. The Seventy-seventh Division drove the enemy out of La Cendière Farm and have passed the Aisne Canal.

Enemy counter-attacks repulsed.

September 12. After four hours' bombardment our troops advanced on the south and west flanks of the St. Mihiel salient at 5 a. m. By 7:30 a. m. the forces operating on the south had reached the southern edge of the Bois Juli, the Quart de Réserve, and the northern edge of the Bois de Mort Mare. By noon they had reached Essey and Vicville and the army operating in the difficult ground in the west had captured Les Eparges. At 6 p. m. the troops had reached a point 1 kilometer east of Senzey and had taken St. Remy and Combres. During the night the troops on the western flank of the salient advanced 5 miles in five hours, reaching Vigneulles by 3 a. m.

The Americans take the St. Mihiel salient.

September 14. There was general advance along the entire line, and the American army established itself on the following front: Manheulles, Fresnes, Pintheville, St. Hilaire, Doncourt, northeast of Woel, south end of the Etang de Lachaussée, Vandières, and across the Moselle at Champey.

American troops advance to new line.

September 17. American troops advanced along the Moselle within 300 yards of Pagúy.

September 18. The Twenty-sixth Division made two raids during the night. One against St. Hilaire was without result, as the enemy had retired; the other against the Bois de Warville resulted in capture of 15 prisoners.

Raids by the Twenty-sixth.

*Ninety-second
repulses
raids.*

September 19. The Ninety-second Division repulsed an attempted enemy raid in the St. Die sector.

September 20. The Ninety-second Division repulsed two enemy raids in the region of Lesseux.

*First
Army
attacks
in the
Argonne.*

September 26. The First Army attacked northwest of Verdun on a front of 20 miles and penetrated to an average depth of 7 miles.

September 27. The One Hundred and Seventh Regiment of the Twenty-seventh Division attacked east of Bellicourt and attained its objectives.

September 29. In the Argonne, the Americans met with furious resistance. Their losses were heavy, and they were unable to do more than hold their own.

*Twenty-seventh
and
Thirtieth
near St.
Quentin.*

September 30. The Twenty-seventh and the Thirtieth Divisions took prisoners north of St. Quentin totaling 210 officers and more than 1,200 men.

October 1. The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed a hostile counterattack on the entire divisional front in the Aire Valley, with very heavy losses to the enemy.

*Second Division with
Fourth
French
Army.*

October 3. The Second Division, operating with the Fourth French Army, made an advance of 2 kilometers, reaching Medéah farm in the afternoon. In the evening the Second Division advanced about 3 kilometers, and their line ran from Medéah farm southwest along the road to Blanc Mont. They captured 1,000 prisoners, and casualties were estimated at 500.

First Division at Exermont.

October 4. The First Division attacked on both sides of Exermont, and made progress in spite of strong op-

position from the enemy, who resisted with machine guns in organized opposition. Approximately 300 prisoners were taken, and our casualties were 1,500.

October 5. The First Division captured Ariétal farm, and the line was advanced 400 yards beyond. The Sixth Division repulsed a large enemy raid on Sondernach.

*Sixth
repulses
Germans
at Sonder-
nach.*

October 7. A brigade of the Eighty-second advanced 7 kilometers, occupying Hill 223, north of Châtel Chéhéry; 46 prisoners were captured, including 1 officer. Our casualties were light. Later the enemy counterattacked and occupied Hill 223, north of Châtel Chéhéry.

October 8. The Fifty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division attacked, at 5 a. m., over a front of 5,000 yards, gained all first objectives by 9 a. m., and second objectives by noon. Fifty officers, 1,500 men, and four 101-millimeter guns were taken.

October 8-9. The Second Corps advanced about seven miles on a front of 4,000 yards and captured about 2,000 prisoners and 30 guns.

October 9. In spite of strong resistance the First Division advanced in the sector east of Fléville and captured 230 prisoners. The Thirty-third Division, operating with the Seventeenth French Army Corps, attacked early in the morning north of Consenvoye and reached its final objective about 9 a. m. About 650 prisoners were taken.

*Thirty-
third with
the French.*

October 10. The First Corps reached Cornay-La Besogne Ridge and passed Malassise farm, east of Grand

Ham. The Sixtieth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division advanced 6 kilometers, reaching the Selle River, and held the St. Benin-St. Souplet-La Haie-Menneresse line. Up to the evening of the 9th, 50 officers, 1,800 men, and 32 guns were captured.

October 12. The Fourth Division repulsed two counterattacks by machine-gun fire, with severe loss to the enemy.

October 13. An attack on Grandpré this morning met very heavy machine-gun fire, and troops of the Second Corps were finally forced to retire south of the Aire. A hostile counterattack at 8 p. m. south of Landres-et-St. Georges was repulsed. The Eighty-first Division repulsed an enemy raid in St. Die sector. The Seventy-seventh Division took Grandpré.

*Eighty-first
at St. Die.*

October 17. The Twenty-ninth Division advanced to the summit of Bois de la Grand Montagne, east of the Meuse. The Forty-second Division took Côte de Châtilon. The Second Battalion of the Seventy-sixth Division reached the northern edge of Bois des Loges, west of Champigneulle. In an attack on a 4,000-yard front from St. Souplet to Molain our troops advanced 3,000 yards against very stiff resistance. All counterattacks repulsed. Prisoners taken were estimated at 2,500.

*Americans
advance
3,000 yards.*

October 19. The Thirtieth Division attacked with the British at dawn and advanced 2,000 yards. Prisoners captured since the morning of the 17th totaled 44 officers and over 1,500 men. The Seventy-eighth Division pushed

their lines forward to Bellejoyeuse farm and began to mop up the Bois des Loges.

October 21. In attacks on the Bois des Rappes the Fifth Division met with stubborn resistance by machine guns, supported by artillery and infantry fire. It captured the entire position with 170 prisoners, including 5 officers. An enemy counterattack, supported by heavy artillery fire, was repulsed with heavy losses. The Fifth and Third Divisions took Hill 297 and Bois des Rappes. Attacking in the evening, the Eighty-ninth Division occupied the northern and eastern edge of the Bois de Bantheville.

Seventy-eighth at Bellejoyeuse.

Fifth, Third and Eighty-ninth Divisions.

October 23. Troops of the Third Corps reached the ridge north of the village of Bantheville, taking 171 prisoners. The Twenty-ninth Division captured the ridge of Bois d'Etrayes and Hill 361.

Third Corps takes Bantheville.

October 27. The Seventy-eighth Division entered Bellejoyeuse farm, northeast of Grandpré, and found it unoccupied. The occupation of the right of way north and northwest of Grandpré was completed.

October 30. On October 30 patrols were active along the entire front of the Twenty-eighth Division. The Thirty-third Division, in the face of heavy artillery and machine-gun fire, north of Grandpré, advanced its lines and occupied the Bellejoyeuse farm. On October 30, 2,000 high explosive and gun shells fell in the vicinity of Fresnes. One of the divisional patrols captured five prisoners.

Twenty-eighth and Thirty-third Divisions.

Advance of the First Army.

Heights of Audenarde taken.

November 1. The troops of the First Army captured Clery-le-Grand. North of Ancreville they took 53 additional prisoners and continued their advance into the Bois des Bantheville. During the night of November 1-2 the troops of the Thirty-seventh Division consolidated their positions and effected a crossing of the river Scheldt, confronted by enemy machine-gun and rifle fire. The Ninety-first Division, supported by artillery and machine-gun fire, rapidly advanced over 6 kilometers in spite of enemy artillery and machine-gun fire. The enemy was driven from the west bank of the Scheldt and at noon the heights northwest of Audenarde were taken.

November 2. On the evening of November 2 the troops of the Seventy-eighth Division drove the enemy from the Bois des Loges and closely followed his retreat. The Ninety-second Division, in spite of machine-gun resistance, pushed forward and advanced the line 3 kilometers.

November 3. The Ninety-first Division, in spite of active machine-gun resistance, forced their way toward the bank of the Scheldt in the vicinity of Eyne.

November 4. On November 4 a brigade of the Seventy-ninth Division attacked an enemy sector, taking 81 prisoners and 8 machine guns, encountering strong resistance and repulsing several counterattacks.

November 5. On November 5, the troops of the Seventy-seventh Division, engaged in severe fighting,

overcame strong enemy resistance along the entire line. The artillery was active, firing on the enemy's retreating columns. Harassing artillery fire was returned by the enemy. Aviation was active on both sides. The enemy flew over our front lines and delivered machine-gun fire on our advancing troops. Two enemy planes were brought down.

November 6. Our troops of the First Corps continued their successful advance, forcing the enemy to retire. The towns of Flabas, Raucourt, Haraucourt, and Autrecourt were taken, and patrols pushed on as far as the Meuse. Large quantities of matériel were captured during the advance. Following heavy bombardment on the enemy's divisions the troops of the Fifth Division attacked, rapidly overcoming the enemy's resistance, capturing Lion-devant-Dun, Murvaux, Fontaine, and Vilosnes-sur-Meuse, taking more than 250 prisoners.

Patrols reach the Meuse.

November 7. The troops of the Second Division cleared the west bank of the Meuse of the remaining machine guns and snipers in the vicinity of Mouzon. The Fifth Division, supported by artillery fire, continued their advance despite the enemy's continued resistance, principally with machine guns. Most of the artillery crossed to the east bank of the Meuse, following in support of the infantry. Additional prisoners were taken, including 2 officers and 132 men.

Second Division on west bank of Meuse.

Fifth Division advances.

November 8. The patrols of the Second Division crossed the Meuse south of Mouzon. The troops of the

*Thirty-third raids
Château
Aulnois.*

Thirty-third Division, aided by barrage fire carried out a successful raid on Château Aulnois, capturing 1 officer and 22 men. Strong combat patrols were sent out from the lines of the Ninety-second Division (colored). Prisoners were captured and casualties inflicted on the enemy.

November 9. On midnight of November 9 patrols of the Fifth Division drove back the enemy, inflicting many casualties and capturing 6 prisoners. The troops consolidated and, despite stubborn resistance, principally from machine guns, drove the enemy from Bois du Canol and La Sentinelle and captured Brandeville. In these operations 47 prisoners, 125 machine guns, and other matériel were captured. A strong combat patrol was active along the entire front of the Thirty-third Division, meeting with heavy machine-gun resistance from the enemy, and a patrol of one company captured 8 prisoners in the Bois de Warville. The troops of the Seventy-ninth Division advanced in a generally north-easterly direction, with the right flank in Bois de Damvillers. The Forty-second and units of the First seized the heights south of Sedan.

*Forty-second takes
heights
near
Sedan.*

November 10. The Thirty-third Division carried out a successful raid on Marcheville, occupying the town and taking 80 prisoners, including 3 officers. Strong patrols from the line engaged in sharp fighting. The Thirty-seventh Division, operating with the Thirty-fourth French Army Corps, attacked in order to force

*Thirty-seventh
and Thirty-fourth at-
tack on
Scheldt.*

a crossing of the Scheldt. Violent enfilading machine-gun fire, heavy artillery, and the flooded condition of the terrain delayed the construction of bridges and crossings. In the face of continuous heavy artillery fire, supported by machine guns, the troops advanced about 2 kilometers. The Ninetieth Division advanced toward Baâlon, encountering no resistance. The Ninety-second Division reached Bois Frehaut and captured 710 prisoners. *Ninetieth and Ninety-second advance.*

November 11. The Third Division advanced 3 kilometers east of Bréhéville. Despite increased resistance by machine-gun and artillery fire, the Fifth Division continued to advance, capturing 18 prisoners, 3 large-caliber guns, 6 minenwerfers, and considerable matériel. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, hostilities on the front of the American armies ceased at 11 a. m. *Third and Fifth push on. Armistice.*

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

(A.D. 1918)

WOODROW WILSON

ONCE more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regards to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program for the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That

The Central Powers wish to discuss basis of peace.

The Russian statement.

*Central
Powers
concede
nothing to
Russia.*

*Russian
representa-
tives
sincere.*

program proposed no concessions at all, either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the population with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Powers speaking: Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states, which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern

democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held with open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July, 1917, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

*The world
as audi-
ence.*

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily

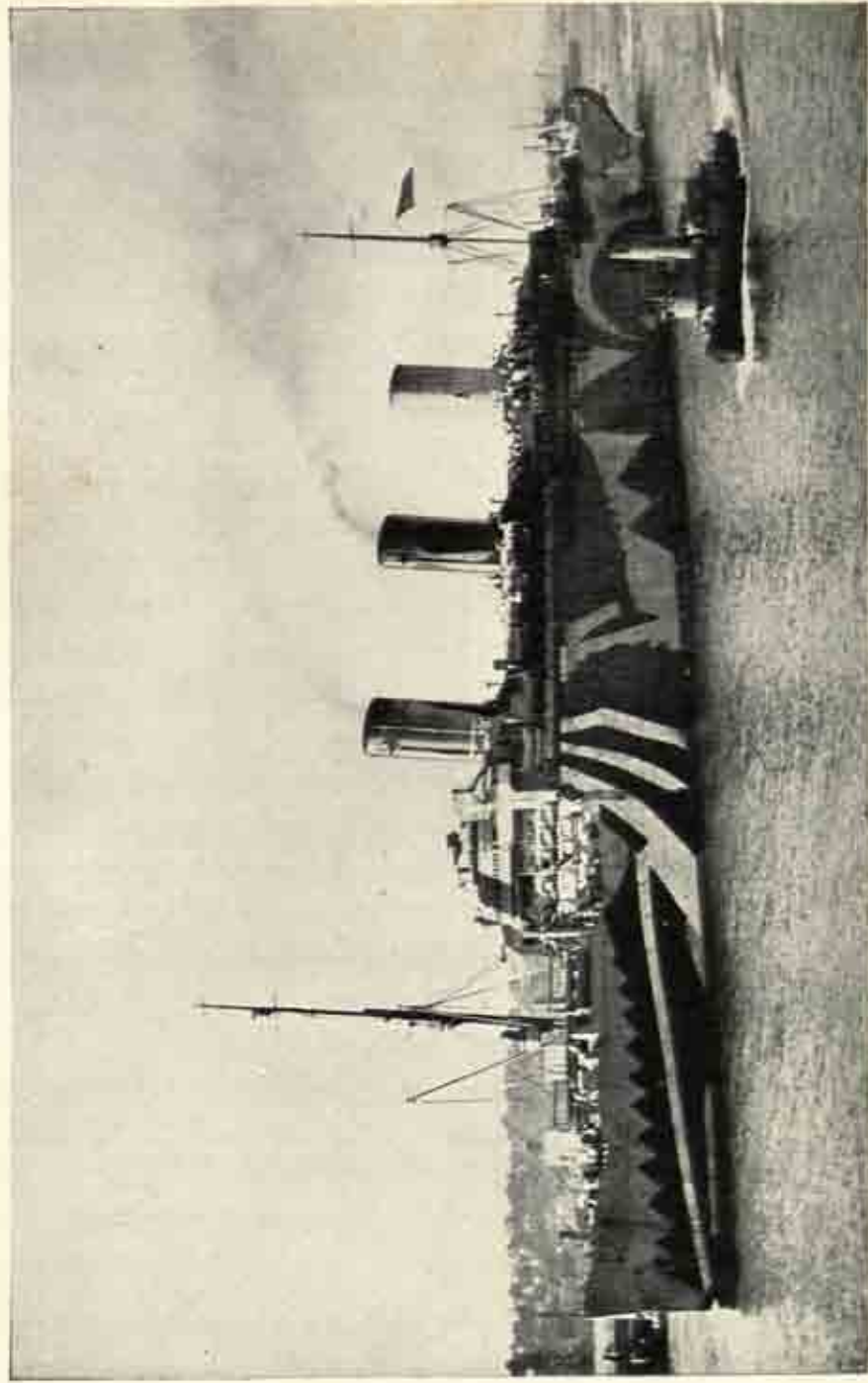
*The objects
of the war.*

*Lloyd
George
speaks for
Great
Britain.*

spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

*Call of the
Russian
people.*

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honor-



THE "LEVIATHAN" CAMOUFLAGED AGAINST SUIMARINE ATTACK (*Page 18*)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

able for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

*Conception
of what is
honorable.*

*Hope to
assist
Russia.*

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular Governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

*Day of
conquest is
past.*

*Why
America
entered
the war.*

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are, in effect, partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

*Peoples of
the world
partners in
seeking
justice.*

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

*Diplomacy
in public
view.*

"I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

*Freedom of
navigation.*

"II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

"III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic

barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. *Removal of economic barriers.*

"IV. Adequate guaranties given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. *Reduction of armaments.*

"V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. *Adjustment of colonial claims.*

"VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy. *Evacuation of Russian territory.*

Restoration of Belgium.

"VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

Restoration of invaded French territory.

"VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

Readjustment of Italy's frontiers.

"IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

Freedom of peoples of Austria-Hungary.

"X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

Restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro.

"XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and terri-

torial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

"XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties. *Freedom of nationalities held in subjection by Turkey.*

"XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant. *Poland reconstituted.*

"XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." *An association of nations.*

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. *Partners of peoples against imperialists.*

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight, and to continue to fight, until they are achieved;

*America
desires a
stable
peace.*

but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the New World in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

*Germany
must
accept
equality
instead of
mastery.*

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

*German
spokesmen
must repre-
sent the
people.*

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have out-

lined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

POLAND REBORN

(A.D. 1918)

ALEXANDER H. DEBSKI

POLAND rose from out "the smoke of fires and the waves of blood," according to her national hymn, and now from the maelstrom of the World War she is emerging once more toward an independent existence. We are facing the era of social justice. The readjustment of national frontiers in accordance with national ideals will wipe out the injustice of centuries. Poland will be a land for the Poles instead of a milch cow for the world's autocracies, now breathing their last. *Era of social justice.*

Already in the tenth century Poland stood as an independent nation on the banks of the Vistula, Oder and Wartha, a nation that subsequently outgrew in power the other kingdoms of Europe. For long centuries her frontiers stretched from the Baltic Sea on the north to the Carpathian Mountains and the Black Sea on the south; on the east she extended to the rivers Dnieper *Poland in the tenth century.*

Copyright, Asia, December, 1918.

and Dvina. During the thousand years of her independent existence under the continuous rule of forty kings she attained as high a degree of culture as any country in Europe.

*A buffer
between
Mongols
and
Christian
Europe.*

*Victory
over the
Turks.*

In the Europe of that period Poland stood between two worlds, the dividing line between Christian Europe and the Mongols and Tartars, who made periodic excursions across the plains of the Ukraine. For five centuries the barbaric waves from the east broke against her frontiers. The struggle against the barbarians was initiated by King Pius Henry in 1241 at the battle of Lignica in Silesia. The deathblow to Ottoman supremacy was delivered by King John III. Sobieski in 1683 under the walls of Vienna. If it had not been for this impenetrable barrier established by Poland, Europe would have been unable to develop as she subsequently did. It was Poland that, at the end of the Middle Ages, Christianized Lithuania, the last of the pagan nations.

The 17th century was the period of Poland's rapid rise. The first University of Eastern Europe, the precursor of similar institutions at Vilna, Warsaw, Lwow (Lemberg) and Zamosc, was opened in 1364 at Cracow. From its walls emerged Copernicus. In the 16th century great poets, like Sarbiewski, crowned triumphantly at the Capitol of Rome, eminent writers and scientists, like Andrew Fryoz and Modrzewski, made their appearance, and masterpieces were created under the inspiring influence of ideals of tolerance, fraternity of nations, and in-

*A univer-
sity at
Cracow
in 1364.*

dividual rights. Toward the middle of the 18th century the first Ministry of Public Education in Europe was created in Poland under the name of the "Commission of Education." The reforms introduced by this commission were many centuries ahead of the educational ideas of the time. Moreover, during this period Poland developed a complex political organization far in advance of that of other European nations—an organization which has left its indelible mark on Polish character. While Europe was in the grip of oppressive autocracy, Poland was rapidly developing into a republic. The Polish Habeas Corpus Act was granted in 1430; the inviolability of the home was secured in 1588; freedom of speech and of the written word were granted in the 15th and 16th centuries. In many countries it was only the 19th century that saw torrents of blood shed in the same cause. The Diet, or Congress, of Poland was established in 1493 on the principle of a parliament with two chambers, the senate and the chamber of deputies, a form of government copied by England at a much later date and still to be attained by many modern nations. This form of government reached the height of its development in the 16th century and lasted until the fall of the Republic, two centuries later. The principle of a free union between free people was first formulated in 1569 at the union of Poland and Lithuania: "The free with the free, equals with equals." The law stood above the king, and if the king persisted in ignoring the wishes

Educational reforms ahead of their time.

Laws guaranteeing liberty.

The Diet of Poland.

Union of Poland and Lithuania.

of the people there were means whereby he could be forced either to submission or to abdication (*lex de non praestanda obedientia*). The Polish nobility, jealous of its privileges, prevented the kings from becoming all powerful, and as a result of this understanding between the ruler and the ruled no Polish king was ever assassinated or jealously guarded every time he left his palace.

No Polish king ever assassinated.

Great Polish patriots.

Poland's contribution to world culture.

Nevertheless, one hundred and twenty years ago Poland fell a victim to her powerful and united enemies. Since that time the country has been torn by one bloody revolution after another, led by one fiery patriot after another, men whose names have become historic, such as Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Henry Dombrowski, Josef Poniatowski, and today Josef Pilsudski. To these men the freedom of Poland was the sole and only ideal. Every generation has followed them valiantly into battle; for, though divided, Poland has always preserved strong unity of spirit—a characteristic that has made her unconquerable. During the century of triple servitude to Russia, Austria and Germany the Polish people have maintained their individuality, not only successfully resisting all attempts at cultural suppression, but even adding to the world's treasury of human culture. The genius of Mickiewicz in poetry, of Sinkiewicz in prose, Chopin in music, and Matejki in art will always remain the possession not only of Poland, but of the whole world. When the present war broke out the Polish Legions, under the leadership of General Josef Pilsudski, marched

fearlessly into battle for what they considered the right. During the recent German occupation of Poland the struggle has been bitter and ceaseless, for the Pole does not easily give in.

Poland is now on the eve of freedom, and her future as an independent united country with access to the sea is one of the most vital questions of the Peace Congress, for upon its proper solution will depend, in great measure, the future peace of the world. Polish demands are based primarily on the question of nationality. All territory inhabited by Poles or by people who call themselves Poles should be a part of Poland. Where the racial content is too mingled, reciprocal treaties should be drawn up guaranteeing all the nations equal rights before the law. This can be the only just basis of settlement, because already the Czechs and Lithuanians are making demands upon sections to which they have no right, whether historical or racial. The Lithuanians are claiming the territory of historic Lithuania embracing about 20,000,000 White Russians and Poles who use as their official language White Russian, a transition from Polish to Russian. Of the Lithuanians themselves there are but between three and four millions, scattered in the governments of Kovno, Grodno and Vilna, as well as in Prussia. They are not Slavs at all, and their language, of Sanscrit origin, has no Slavonic roots. Vilna, which the Lithuanians are demanding, has, according to German statistics that always underestimate, 52 per cent Polish

The question of nationality.

Demands of the Czechs and the Lithuanians.

population, 2 per cent Lithuanian, the rest Jews and White Russians. Upon what do the Lithuanians base their claim to this great territory? Would not the whole tangled question receive the easiest and quickest solution by the application of the standard of nationality? The Czechs are similarly claiming Silesia, although there is no justification at all for their claim, for the entire district is inhabited only by Poles. The Brest-Litovsk treaty similarly gave the Polish province of Cholm to the Ukraine, an injustice that has added much to the bitter hatred of the Poles toward the German Government.

The new State of Poland should include the old Kingdom of Poland (Russian Poland), Austrian Poland and Posen (German Poland), Silesia and the left bank of the Vistula, with the port of Danzig at its mouth, the most appropriate outlet to the sea. The left bank of the Vistula is inhabited by Poles, the right by a mixture of Poles and Germans. German socialists, such as Liebknecht and his followers, have stipulated that those provinces in which there are over 60 per cent Poles should belong to Poland. Such a ruling would ensure Poland the possession of every disputed territory, but there must be an international guarantee for the possession of Danzig. Germany does not wish to allow Poland free access to the sea; she would prefer to hold her in economic dependence, relying solely on the fancy of Prussian Junkers in fixing transit rates. Surely such a solution cannot be permitted.

*Terms of
the Brest-
Litovsk
treaty.*

*What
Poland
should
include.*

*Interna-
tional
guarantee
for
Danzig.*

The three parts of Poland present entirely different industrial conditions, due partly to the nature of the country and partly to the laws and customs established by the reigning powers. Of the three parts the richest and most highly developed industrially is the former Kingdom of Poland; Austrian Poland and Posen are both agricultural in character.

Although Czarist Russia imposed heavy tariffs on the Kingdom of Poland and did all in its power to discourage commercial development, the territory grew into one of the most congested industrial centers of the old Russian Empire. This does not imply that the land was not under cultivation. On the contrary, for the last twenty years the peasants have been buying up the big estates both there and in Austrian Poland, but agricultural production was insufficient to supply the demand. Cattle were imported from the Ukraine, flour from Russia and Germany, butter from Siberia. Tobacco came from the Caucasus, cotton from the Far East—Tashkent and Persia—flax from Lithuania. The exports were directed to Russia and the Far East. The sugar refineries of Poland, rivaled those of the Ukraine; in 1912 there were, according to German statistics, 479 mines and glass works, the production of which was valued at 601,394,419 rubles, or according to the *ante bellum* rate of exchange \$300,697,209 per annum; there were 1,166 textile plants, and the linens from Lodz found a market in the remotest corners of Russia. The country has un-

A
congested
industrial
center.

Imports
and
exports.

Unlimited
natural
resources.

limited natural resources, among them vast coal deposits, naphtha, salt, iron ore, and phosphates.

*Agriculture
in Galicia.*

In Galicia, where the Austrian Government succeeded better in stifling all industrial development, the country naturally turned to agriculture. The export of farm products was heavy; horses, eggs, cattle, butter and grain were but a few of the necessities exported to Vienna. Although the country is undoubtedly undeveloped, it has shown the same vitality as the Kingdom of Poland in struggling against adverse conditions. Thus, in 1913, there were 1,587 industrial and farm co-operative societies, with a membership of 1,160,264, and an invested capital of \$17,319,457.

*Posen also
a farming
country.*

Posen, German Poland, has also been kept as an agricultural country by the policy of the German Government. But although the struggle was between three and a half million Poles and the power of Germany, still before the war there were 287 commercial enterprises and factories, with property worth \$6,797,689, and a reserve capital of \$3,883,815. Silesia escaped the fate of both Galicia and Posen, for its coal and iron deposits made it one of the liveliest industrial centers of Austria.

*Recon-
struction a
difficult
problem.*

Poland is now facing the most difficult of all problems, that of reconstruction in a country completely ruined by successive invasions. First Russia marched through, devastating and requisitioning, and taking with her, when she retreated, all the available machinery. Then Germany laid hands on all that Russia was un-

able to take. In Lodz, vast stores of raw material—railroad equipment, steel products, linen, cotton, and sugar fell into her hands. Nothing was left that could be transported. I was in Poland from February, 1915, to February, 1917, and had ample opportunities to study the plans and methods by which the Poles were already then preparing for the work of reconstruction. As a member of a Special Commission organized by the Agricultural Society, I had an opportunity to see not only what the Agricultural Society was doing, but to follow the work of several other large organizations as well.

*Work of
the Agri-
cultural
Society.*

The old policy of the manufacturers was to produce goods only for export purposes, ignoring the local demands and depending upon cheap Russian imports to satisfy the needs of the Polish peasants. It was owing to this established method that Germans were so fearful of Polish competition in Russia, for the Poles not only understood the market well but had already many established branches throughout the country. The German aim is to eliminate Polish goods from the Russian market at any cost. Although the Poles are certainly going to do all in their power to forestall any such action, nevertheless the entire industrial program of Poland has been fundamentally changed. All the numerous commissions and organizations with which I was in touch aimed first to supply the local market with machinery connected with all forms of agricultural work, railroad material for the rebuilding of the ruined railroad sys-

*Germans
feared
Polish com-
petition.*

*Commis-
sions aim
to supply
the local
market.*

tem, bridges to replace those that were destroyed, roads, flour mills, and all other necessities for the upbuilding of a country that for four years has been overrun with foreign troops.

All plans have laid particular stress on government aid, since the precedent for such action has already been established. Before the Revolution of 1830, the Polish Minister of Finance founded a Polish Bank, which not only subsidized a number of industrial undertakings, but even operated smelting works of its own. No trouble is foreseen in getting the Government to undertake the operation of the railroads, the postal telegraph and the mines, which will constitute the first step toward easing the financial situation and to a great extent stabilizing the financial market. The commissions working on these projects, however, have looked beyond. Foreseeing the collapse of Austria, they have already made plans to extend the Polish market to the south, especially to the Balkans, where the Slavonic origin of both Poles and Bulgars may be a great aid in establishing permanent business relations.

The thoroughness of organization and the definiteness of program in all reconstruction work struck me with particular force. Committees of the Agricultural Society were working out irrigation schemes, especially with reference to the irrigation of peasant holdings. The Technical Society was collecting and analyzing at headquarters all the statistics relating to labor conditions in the

*Plans for
Govern-
ment
control.*

*Plans to
extend the
Polish
market.*

*Irrigation
schemes.*

country. After seeing the methodic and efficient work of this organization, I realized thoroughly that the great undertaking of reconstructing Poland already had a good start, and that all that was needed was the full opportunity to put the plans into practical execution. The dream of a free and independent Poland has always found concrete expression, either in revolution or in industrial reconstruction.

The legitimate optimism regarding the future of Poland's industrial life cannot be applied, however, to financial conditions, for these are complicated and have been altogether outside the reach of Polish workers. It will need the efforts of an International Congress to settle the various difficulties involved. The first of these is that Poland lacks a national currency, having made use in the past of rubles, kronen, and marks. The Russians took away what was available in gold. Each conqueror, upon entering the country, has followed the practice of buying up the enemy coin at a low valuation and then carting it off, until both values have dropped almost to nothing and coins have ceased to exist. The country's exchange has had to confine itself to paper currency. Meanwhile, debts and mortgages cannot be repaid, for there is no standard rate of exchange. German efforts to settle this puzzle have been neither sincere nor honest. Moreover, the country is flooded with receipts for requisitioned horses, cattle and other property. The Russian and Austrian governments, it is true, undertook

*Complicated
financial
conditions.*

*Conquerors
carried
away gold.*

*Losses of
the Polish
peasants.*

to liquidate these, but neither power exists any more. Who will pay the Polish peasant for his losses?

*A foreign
loan
necessary.*

Given the opportunity, the Poles will re-establish themselves rapidly, but help will have to be extended from an outside source. When the financial tangle is theoretically settled there will still remain the need of meeting current obligations and only a foreign loan can satisfy that demand. Germany will probably bid for the honor, but Poland fears her, for back of her money looms the Junker; political supremacy stalks in the shadow of economic aid. The United States is the only country from which the Poles could accept the loan with pleasure, knowing that it would be given without ulterior motives.

*Former
secret or-
ganizations.*

Poland has always been the scene of recurring revolutions, for the secret organization against the three Powers that have held her in bondage has been active and un-failingly efficacious. At the time of the Russian revolution of 1905, the Poles also had their upheaval, and soon after, one of the greatest revolutionists that Poland has ever known, Josef Pilsudski, conceived the idea of building up a secret military organization, a revolutionary army that would be trained and armed in readiness when the opportune moment for striking for freedom should come. When the European war broke out in 1914, Pilsudski and his 40,000 men turned their arms against Russia, for Czarism was Poland's most immediate and active enemy. With the Russian autocracy

*Pilsudski
in the
Great War.*

overthrown Pilsudski planned to turn on the Central Powers and to wage a defensive war against them. The entire plan had the support of the radical and peasant organizations, in strong opposition to which stood the conservatives, representing the land-owners and clericals, who had always supported the Czar. The fall of the Russian bureaucracy was foreseen by Pilsudski as early as 1915, at which time he disbanded the Polish Legions stating that there was no need for them, since they could not wage open war upon the Central Powers.

*Fall of
Russian
bureau-
cracy
foreseen.*

It was at his request that I organized the National Central Committee, composed of the peasant parties, the socialist party, and the progressive parties, thus forming one vast organization, purely civilian in character, wielding the majority power. Its purpose was the establishment of a solid defensive front against the Germans. It organized schools, evening classes, lectures; it printed and circulated quantities of educational material. Josef Pilsudski took charge of a parallel organization among the soldiers, and this was called the "Polish Military Organization." Both bodies were secret and their power was so widespread that the Germans were unable to cope with them or suppress any of their activities.

*National
Central
Committee.*

*Polish
Military
Organiza-
tion.*

At the same time a demand for a definite Polish Government was made. Germany, having had many previous unpleasant experiences with Poland, granted a Provisional Government in January, 1917. But she attempted to control the membership, whereupon each of

*Germany
grants
Provisional
Govern-
ment.*

*Differences
with the
Germans.*

*Regency
and
Ministry.*

the Poles who received an invitation to participate in the Council refused the honor and referred Germany to the existing political parties for the prospective Council. Germany accepted the reprimand and the elections were held. Pilsudski, who was one of those returned, immediately declared war on German methods. The abolition of the Austro-German frontier in the Kingdom of Poland, and the establishment of a Regency as a symbol of supreme power were promptly demanded. Pilsudski and the radicals insisted that since there was no supreme power in Poland, temporary representatives should arrogate the power until a proper representative of the people could be duly elected. Germany feared to agree, whereupon Pilsudski and six other radicals in the Council resigned. The German Government, dreading that he might put forward even more energetic measures, arrested and imprisoned him in the fortress of Magdeburg. This only rendered the situation more desperate; for the Polish Legionaires, when they heard of the treatment accorded their leader, refused to serve on any of the fronts. Some surrendered to the enemy, and 140 were shot in Hungary for insubordination. The Central Powers were forced into a compromise, and on October 5, 1917, the Regency was granted, a Ministry formed, and a Great Council, or Parliament, promised. But the Regency, when elected, represented only the Polish conservatives.

After the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Regency and the

Ministry declared that both the German and Austrian Emperors had been false to Poland, and the Ministry resigned. The Regency could not do so owing to the oath of tenure of office that it had taken. In May, 1918, a Council of 100 representatives was granted by the Central Powers, in which the radicals would not take part because it was not elected on a democratic basis. Nevertheless they agreed to support the conservatives in all the measures directed against the Germans.

Partisanship has been carried over even among the Poles of the United States, which has been the center of a bitter fight between the conservatives, represented by the Polish National Committee, with Ignace Paderewski as the representative in America in opposition to the Polish National Defense Committee, organized by me at the request of Pilsudski. The National Council is also responsible for the Polish Legions organized in opposition to the policy of the Polish National Defense Committee, which maintained that if Poles found a good home in the United States, the United States army was "good enough to fight in." When the Mid-European League was formed, the Polish National Defense Committee refrained from joining on the ground that American Poles had no right to try to dispose of the fate of Poland. That is in the hands of the elected representatives of Poland. That the Poles would uphold the establishment of a number of independent states, however,

*A bitter
fight among
Poles in
the United
States.*

there was no doubt, for Ignace Dazsynski publicly declared himself for an independent Bohemia.

*Regency
transfers
power to
Pilsudski.*

With the revolution in Germany and the disintegration of Austria, the Regency gave the supreme power over to Josef Pilsudski as the representative of the people until such time as the elections could be held. Ignace Dazsynski, Polish deputy in the Vienna Parliament, a prominent radical and the most brilliant orator in the Parliament, was proclaimed temporary premier. The situation is almost without parallel. A group of men, representing the conservative party, has elected to give over its supreme power to a socialist. Our enemies usually accuse us of partisanship. Can there be a more conclusive refutation of this accusation than the action of the conservative Regency? The union with the socialists proves that in the decisive moment, Poland stands first. Our party struggles are forgotten. We are willing to grasp hands with our enemies, for it is only by united action that the Poles will be able to build up a free Poland.

*Poland
stands first
with all
parties.*

A UNITED YUGOSLAVIA

(A.D. 1918)

V. R. SAVIC

AFTER winning the war, the Allies must win peace. The ideals for which America entered the war must be embodied in the creation of new states and institutions and in the redressing of old wrongs. *Peace must be won.*
The European map must be greatly changed, but nowhere will those changes be far-reaching and fundamental as in the lands which up to the present have composed Austria-Hungary. This artificial union must disappear, giving room to a new organization of south-eastern Europe. Among the changes to be effected, it is generally recognized, the Yugoslavs must be completely enfranchised from any foreign rule and given the opportunity for an independent state life of their own. *Far-reaching changes in Austria-Hungary.*

Who are the Yugoslavs? They are the southern branch of the great Slavic race. They number in all about 13,000,000. Before this war 5,000,000 of them lived in Serbia and Montenegro, two independent states. Seven *Number of the Yugoslavs.*

Copyright, *Asia*, December, 1918.

*Arrival
in the
Balkans.*

*The sec-
tions the
Jugoslavs
inhabit.*

millions lived in Austria-Hungary, and the number of emigrants to both America and Australia equaled about 1,000,000. These southern Slavs are known under the names of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. All of them arrived in the Balkans during the great migration from the 5th to 7th centuries, A. D. They occupied all the western and central provinces of the Balkans from the Italian frontier to the Ægean Sea. The western provinces lying nearer to Rome came under her influence and became Roman Catholic. They are grouped under the name of Croats and Slovenes. The Slovenes, who numbered before the war 1,250,000, inhabit Goritzia, Carniola, southern Carinthia, southern Styria and part of Istria. Their language is a slight dialect of the Serbo-Croatian tongue. In the west they touch the Italians and in the north the Germans. The Croats number about 3,000,000 and live between the Slovenes and the Serbs, but are so greatly mixed with the latter that it would be difficult to draw a line of division between them. The Croats inhabit Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and a part of Bosnia. The Serbs and Croats speak the same language and differ only in that the Serbs came under the religious influence of Constantinople and are Greek Orthodox. The Serbs number about 8,000,000 and inhabit Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, part of Dalmatia, part of Croatia, and a part of Backa and Banat in south Hungary.

The Slovenes were incorporated in Austria in the 11th

century, but have preserved their nationality intact. The Croats longer enjoyed an independent state life, but since the 12th century have been united with Hungary. The Croats enjoy even to-day a sort of autonomy and consider themselves an independent state in personal union with Hungary, as Bohemia was legally an independent state in personal union with Austria. The Serbs were independent until the end of the 15th century when their lands were conquered by the Turks, with the exception of the Republic of Ragusa, which remained independent and free until the time of Napoleon I., and of Montenegro, which remained free and independent until now. Before the Turkish wave great numbers of Serbs emigrated to Croatia and Hungary. Therefore when the Hapsburg rulers of Austria in 1526 obtained the Hungarian crown, they became rulers of the greater part of the Yugoslavs, including all the Slovenes, all the Croats, and a good part of the Serbs. Later on, after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, Austria incorporated Dalmatia, together with the territories of Ragusa. Thanks to the good offices of Bismarck she also obtained, in the Berlin Congress of 1878, the mandate to occupy and administer Bosnia-Herzegovina.

*Slovenes
incorporated in
Austria.*

*Conquest
of the
Serbs.*

*The power
of the
Hapsburgs.*

Serbs in Turkey, after having many times vainly shed their blood as allies of Austria, started in 1804 a successful insurrection. As a result of ten years of incessant fighting, a small autonomous Serbia was created in 1815. In 1878 Serbia achieved complete independence from Tur-

*Serbia
achieves
independ-
ence.*

key and even enlarged her territory. In 1912, as a result of the Balkan war against Turkey, Serbia and Montenegro incorporated the remaining Turkish provinces inhabited by the Serbs.

*Import-
tance
of the
Yugoslav
countries.*

A glance at the map shows that the Yugoslav countries represent the most valuable possessions of Austria-Hungary. A great empire cannot exist to-day without safe and large ports. Austria-Hungary could obtain access to the sea only through Yugoslav territories. Her very existence as a great power depended upon the control of the coast entirely inhabited by the southern Slavs. In order to secure the possession of that coast land, two ways lay open to her: either to grant her southern Slav subjects all modern institutions necessary for a free national development, and a lawful share in the control of state affairs with an equivalent part in common benefits; or to exploit them in the interest of a third party, without paying heed to their needs and aspirations. Austria-Hungary chose deliberately this second way, using every means of oppression. In order to break up their natural resistance to such a rule the southern Slavs were artificially divided between Austria and Hungary. But this first division had many subdivisions. Thus the meagre local autonomies of the provinces of the southern Slavs of Austria were made dependent upon the good will of German and Italian minorities. In Hungary they were divided into the territory of Croatia-Slavonia, which enjoyed a shadow of autonomy, but a part of them re-

*Yugoslavs
artificially
divided.*

mained in Hungary properly controlled by Budapest. The provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina were controlled jointly by Vienna and Budapest, which competed as to which might exploit their resources more thoroughly. Such a state of things could not but make more intense the desire of all southern Slavs to joint their free brothers of Serbia and Montenegro in a common state on a basis of democracy and equality. *Desire to join Serbia and Montenegro.*

Meanwhile great political changes took place in Europe. Austria-Hungary was ejected from Germany and Italy. Her dynasty looked eagerly to the south in order to soothe the burning wounds of humiliation inflicted in the defeat of 1866, and to satisfy the eternal thirsting of Hapsburg rulers for new titles and provinces. In 1866 Austria-Hungary, defeated at Sadova, was at the mercy of Germany. Many Germans urged the incorporation of her German provinces with Germany. But Bismarck spared her. Why? Because Bismarck was aware of the inner weakness of Austria and decided to exploit her in the interest of German expansion to the East. He said: "Austria-Hungary is a cow to be grazed in the Balkan fields and, when she has been grazed enough, to be killed for the profit of Germanism." The war in question was the best opportunity for an application of that maxim. Bismarck pushed Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and managed her affairs in such a way that Austria-Hungary put at the command of Germany all her resources and an army of many millions. To achieve *Bismarck spares Austria-Hungary*

*Bismarck's
schemes.*

this Bismarck looked for an ally within Austria, besides her German population and dynasty. He bribed the Magyars, who had obtained control over half the Empire, to put themselves and the peoples ruled by them at the mercy of Germany. This system of oppression and division worked steadily toward the present catastrophe.

We now understand why Serbia was a cause of the war. She stood in the way of German expansion. She was, like Bosnia, the coveted prize for the Hapsburg for the loss of Italian and German provinces. But Serbia entertained hopes and encouraged the resistance of the southern Slavs against a system of exploitation, oppression, and denationalization. For all these reasons she was to be removed and her independence ended.

*Breaking
up of
Austria-
Hungary
necessary.*

It is now evident that a first condition of a permanent peace in that every stormy corner of Europe is the breaking up of Austria-Hungary into her component parts. In declaring war upon Austria-Hungary, President Wilson said in the Congress of December 11, 1917: "We are seeking not temporary but permanent foundations of the peace, and we must seek them fearlessly and candidly." After ten months of war he has answered the Austro-Hungarian note for an armistice by stating that the first condition of peace is the freedom of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslavs, like the Czecho-Slovaks, have clearly shown their attitude toward this war. They have not only protested against it; they have done everything to

hamper the military machine of Austria-Hungary. They have organized themselves at home and abroad. Like the Czecho-Slovaks, they have surrendered freely to Russia and Serbia, where they formed their own regiments to fight Austria and Germany. *Yugoslavs organized.*

The position of the Yugoslavs is very similar to, and yet different from, that of the Czecho-Slovaks. All the Czecho-Slovaks live in Austria and Hungary. The Yugoslavs, besides living in Austria-Hungary, live in Serbia, recognized as the champion of their freedom, and Montenegro. Yugoslav emigrants have organized themselves under the presidency of the London Committee. That committee, together with the Serbian Government, last year made public a declaration, known as the Declaration of Corfu, which was an expression of the common aspirations of all the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and an outline of the main features of the constitution of their future state. It reads in part: *Declaration of Corfu.*

The authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in declaring that it is the desire of our people to free itself from every foreign yoke and to constitute itself a free, national, and independent state, a desire based on the principle that every nation has the right to decide its own destiny, are agreed in judging that this state should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

1. The state of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known as the southern Slavs or Yugoslavs, will

*Yugoslavs
to form an
independ-
ent state.*

be a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance. It will be a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy under the Karageorgevitch dynasty.

2. This state will be named "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," and the sovereign will be styled "King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes."

*Serbs,
Croats, and
Slovenes
equal.*

5. The three national designations—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—are equal before the law throughout the territory of the Kingdom, and everyone may use them freely upon all occasions of public life and in dealing with the authorities.

*Religious
freedom.*

7. All recognized religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Mussulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the state.

*Territory
to be
included.*

9. The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community. Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its

union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single state forming an indivisible whole. In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may without infringement of justice be detached and incorporated with some other state without the consent of the nation itself.

10. In the interests of freedom and of the equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all. *Adriatic to be open and free.*

11. All citizens throughout the territory of the Kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the state and before the law.

The nation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, thus unified, will form a state of about twelve million inhabitants. This state will be the guarantee for their independence and national development and their national and intellectual progress in general, a mighty bulwark against the German thrust, an inseparable ally of all the civilized nations and states which have proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and that of international justice. It will be a worthy member of the new community of nations. *Twelve million people.*

Drawn up in Corfu, July 20, 1917.

Now this declaration is no definite act. It is a hasty bridge between a miserable past and a brighter future. It may be looked upon as very progressive in that it proclaims the perfect equality of all three branches and *The declaration progressive.*

religions of the Yugoslavs in a state to be founded on a sound democratic basis. Still it may be considered as reactionary in a way. It proclaims the national unity of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but has not the courage to express it by a single name. It is because there exist two conceptions concerning the unity of the Yugoslavs. They have the same origin; they speak one and the same language. But they have had different histories, and they belong to two churches, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox. We omit, for the sake of simplicity, half a million Serbs in Bosnia who embraced Islam under the Turkish rule. According to the first conception, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are three nations very near to each other, possessing in common all political and economic interests, and they are to continue and develop as three different psychological types, possessing different national consciousnesses and different sources of inspiration. They should live together in order to be able to safeguard their national existence in freedom and to develop the economic resources of their soil. But their unity is of a more or less mechanical character, imposed by the dangers and pressures from the outside. This conception looks backward. It lacks vision of the future and therefore is reactionary.

Another conception is this: The Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes are one and inseparable as a nation. The existing differences among them are the result of foreign unfavorable influences which hitherto have hampered

*The same
language.*

*To
safeguard
national
existence.*

their natural development. The present struggle is the last violent reaction against those inimical foreign forces keeping them in chains until now. Their freedom ought to result in a chemical union of all their national elements. Their future life should be not a simple mechanical addition, but a new composition: it should be different qualitatively, not only quantitatively, from their past. Only in such a union, frankly breaking with the past, can the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes find peace and prosperity. Otherwise much of their energy will be lost in eternal vigilance against the encroachments of one element upon the rights and territories of another, and instead of pooling together their creative resources for the realization of a higher ideal they will shrink to a reactionary life full of petty jealousies. No merely mechanical union can last for a long time. The centrifugal forces within will gain in force until one day they will bring about a separation such as that of Belgium from Holland and Norway from Sweden.

*Reaction
against
foreign
forces.*

*Danger of
mere
mechanical
union.*

The present writer contends that the complete amalgamation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes offers them not only many political and economic advantages, but satisfies all higher moral cravings of the soul. Without a complete union none of these Slavic peoples will ever be able to find peace and happiness. The existing differences and separate historical traditions among the Yugoslavs are far less significant than those which existed among Italian provinces on the eve of the Italian unity.

*Complete
union of
Yugoslavs
necessary.*

*History
of Monte-
negro.*

The Montenegrins possess a fine tradition and history independent from that of Serbia; nevertheless they feel offended if a foreigner treats them as a separate nation outside of Serbia. First they are Serbs, and then Montenegrins. The ancient Republic of Ragusa, glorious among nations for her learning and polity, in all her twelve centuries of freedom and prosperity was never exclusively Serbian or Croatian in character. She was only Slav, and remains so until to-day. This Ragusan tradition is at the bottom of the present movement among the Balkan Slavs for a unity pure and simple. All best minds among the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes have worked for such a union.

*A new
name
necessary.*

The single name they ought to adopt must not be Serbia, neither Croatia nor Slovenia, but a new one. Let that name be Yugoslavia or Illyria or simply Slavia, but only a single name expressing a single soul of a united nation.


*Co-opera-
tion in the
interest of
peace.*

Those who believe in democracy must have faith that liberty will be able to achieve what centuries of bloodshed and forcible conquest have failed to do; the welding of the nations from the Baltic to the Adriatic in a bond of co-operation in the interest of peace and a brighter future for them all.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION

(A.D. 1918)

LOUIS E. VAN NORMAN AND GEORGE PEET

UT of the mists that cover the welter of chaos in Russia there has come a new people, a new war factor with a name unfamiliar to most of us—the Czecho-Slovaks. Suddenly, with no background of knowledge to guide us, we are confronted by a new nation represented by a series of moving armies along the vast Trans-Siberian railroad, from Moscow to Vladivostok; armies whose exploits read like the story of a second Iliad.

*Exploits of
the Czecho-
Slovaks.*

Here, in the capital of the United States, a professor of philosophy and sociology, commander in chief of three armies in the old world, represents a people, denationalized for a thousand years, so pervasively, so convincingly, that the American President and our State Department have joined with Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan in recognizing their armies as belligerents and their home people as a sovereign ally.

*Denational-
alized a
thousand
years.*

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Who are these Czecho-Slovaks? Where is their homeland? What are their national aims and aspirations? Why are they fighting now all along the Trans-Siberian railroad even to the Pacific, against the Russian Bolsheviks?

*Western-
most of
the Slavs.*

The Czecho-Slovaks are the westernmost of the Slavs. The Bohemians, who call themselves Czechs, are in what they have called a Slav island surrounded by a Teuton sea. They have owed an unwilling, protesting allegiance to Austria, while Slovakia, Bohemia Unredeemed, just over the border in Hungary, has been oppressed by the Magyars. Together, the Czechs and their compatriots the Slovaks make one compact people of nine or ten millions, now known as the Czecho-Slovaks.

*Origin of
the Haps-
burg Dual
Monarchy.*

The Bohemian nation has never acknowledged the rule of the Hapsburgs as legitimate.

The Hapsburg Dual Monarchy originated as a union of three independent states, nearly four centuries ago—to be exact, in 1526. Then it was that German Austria, Hungary and Bohemia agreed to unite as fully autonomous states. The Hapsburgs, however, at once violated their pledge and began the long campaign to Germanize the Union. When the voluntary kinship was established, Hungary was occupied by the vanguard of the victorious Turkish invasion. In fact, it was reduced to little more than Slovakia. It took the combined struggle of both Austria and Bohemia for nearly two centuries to liberate the Magyars from their Ottoman oppressors.

*Magyars
freed from
the Turks.*

Bohemia, weakened by the religious persecutions deliberately instigated and carried out by the Hapsburgs, defended her independence bravely. In 1618 she attempted a revolution which ended in her defeat and the Thirty Years War. As a punishment the dynasty imposed absolutism, confiscated four-fifths of the land and exiled more than 30,000 families of the Protestants and Bohemian brethren. But the Czech people never submitted. Indeed, as late as 1775 the peasants of Moravia nobly defended their national church. Both Bohemians and Hungarians stoutly defended their historical rights against the centralizing and Germanizing efforts of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Then came the general reaction in Europe after the French Revolution, a reaction led on the continent by Austria. This backward swing of the pendulum went too far under the guidance of the cynical Metternich and the revolution of 1848 came on. The Czechs were the first to break out into revolt against the tyranny of Vienna. Under the brutal Windischgrätz, the Austrian troops put down the Czechs, while the court called in Russian aid to suppress the Magyars. Again there came the reaction of the early fifties. Austria suffered two great military reverses: in 1859 at the hands of France and Italy, and in 1866 by Prussia. To save the dynasty, the Hapsburgs grudgingly made some small concessions and Austria became, in 1867, the Dual Monarchy—Austria-Hungary.

*Moravians
defend
their
church.*

*Czechs in
revolt
against
Austria.*

Through all the negotiations which resulted in this re-

*Demand
same
rights as
Magyars
have.*

modeling of the system, the Czechs demanded the same rights as the Magyars. They insisted that the Austrian Emperor should be crowned king of Bohemia at Prague as well as of Hungary at Budapest. Emperor Francis Joseph first tried to crush the Czechs by military force. Finding that he could not break their opposition he was compelled to recognize their historical rights. Finally, he promised that he would be crowned king of Bohemia. This solemn promise he made three times to the Czech people—each time to the Diet in formal sitting—in 1861, 1870 and 1871. Later, in 1879, when the Czech members first entered Parliament, he again pledged his royal word.

*A royal
pledge not
kept.*

Berlin and the Magyars, however, opposed him and the royal word was not kept. Bismarck and the Hungarian leader Andrassy made an agreement and Austria-Hungary became the vanguard of Prussia in the Balkans and later, because of this, against Russia. When Bismarck's star had set, William the Second began his openly avowed Pan-German policy, which was, in the main, advocated by the entire Triple Alliance. The German "*Drang nach Osten*" (push to the East) planted the seeds of the two Balkan wars and the present tremendous conflict.

*Seeds of
the Balkan
wars.*

Against the whole German and Austrian "*Welt-politik*," which has been responsible for the present war, the Czechs have always protested with all their might, and demanded their historical rights. They never ceased

pointing out and urging the fact that Bohemia is not a so-called patrimonium, a hereditary land, but a state, as much so as Hungary, a state that might appeal to diplomatic negotiation and mutual agreement.

The southwestern part of the Czech nation, Slovakia, torn from Moravia and Bohemia a century before, was occupied by the Magyars, who kept up a continuous campaign of Magyarization. Up to the eighteenth century this did not succeed. Indeed, the presence in the Magyar tongue of many Slovak terms (in fact, hundreds of them) denoting facts and processes of civilized life, prove that the Magyars themselves were dependent on the Slovaks in a cultural way—even though they do so often refer to the Slovaks as “not human beings.” Later, the Magyars, supported by Vienna and Berlin, are denationalizing the Slovaks by force and trying to make Magyars out of them, just as they have been doing with Rumanians, Ruthenians, Serbians.

The Hapsburgs have played fast and loose with the Slovaks in their usual fashion. In the early days of the uprising of 1848 they supported the Slovaks against the Magyars and aided in the formation of a Slovak army to march on Budapest. Even as late as 1861 Emperor Francis Joseph promised a Slovak deputation his support against the Magyars. In 1867, however, when the so-called “dualism” was formed with the Magyars, the Hapsburgs began a conspiracy against all non-German and non-Magyar nationalities. The Hapsburgs have now

*Slovakia
under the
Magyars.*

*Hapsburg
methods
with the
Slovaks.*

completely sacrificed the Slovaks to Magyar jingoism.

*Austria's
view of
the Czech
cause.*

Austria herself has already, upon several occasions, practically acknowledged the justice and real existence of the position taken by the Czech nation and its armies in the present war. Last spring Emperor Charles sent an official delegate to the Czecho-Slovak army in Russia to persuade it—if possible—to return home, promising that, in such an event, all the troops should be granted full amnesty and, furthermore, that complete autonomy would be granted to the nation they represented. At the same time similar advances were made to the Czech leaders in Prague.

*Czecho-
Slovaks
recognized.*

Berlin and Vienna invoke international law against the Czechs and their Slovak brethren. But it is the Germans and Austrians who themselves have, from the very first days of the war, trampled under foot almost all the precepts of international law. Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States of America have recognized the Czecho-Slovak people and their armies, thus establishing a new precedent in the law of nations. This recognition puts the Czech question forward squarely before the world as an international question. It is no longer an internal problem of Austria-Hungary, but the simple question of the right of a nation, united and determined, and its state and government, to independence and sovereignty. This question will be discussed at the peace conference, at which it now seems certain the Czech representatives will participate on a common footing with all

*A question
for the
peace con-
ference.*

the other peoples who have shed their blood in the common cause.

The recognition of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, representing the entire Czech nation, by the Entente Allies and the United States means that the western nations fighting the Central Powers no longer regard the preservation of Austro-Hungarian integrity as necessary or desirable.

It has been an established fact in European progressive politics for many years that the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy is actually one of the foremost objects of both war and peace.

Dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy.

If the Entente Allies and the United States recognize the right of their partner, Italy, to *Italia Irredenta* (the Italian provinces of Austria); if a united Poland is to arise from the ashes of its former self; if Rumania has her right to her nationals in Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia; if the Yugoslavs should be united in a sovereign state to include Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and portions of Hungary, Istria, Carniola, and Styria; if the Ruthenians in Galicia, Bukovina and Hungary are to be finally united and independent (and who will deny the rights of all these long oppressed folk), then where is the realm of the Hapsburgs?

Austria-Hungary is a purely artificial state, anti-national and anti-democratic. It is a medieval dynasty oppressing, by the military force of an artificial army, a

*Austria-Hungary
an artificial state.*

corrupt aristocracy, and a reactionary clerical hierarchy, the nation and peoples intrusted to its care. The Austrian idea is that of absolutism and medieval theocracy, maintaining itself in power by clericalism, falsehood, and violence. One of the greatest modern Austrian poets referred to his country as "*Geistesmörder*"—"murderer of the spirit." Despite their crimes and reaction, the Hapsburgs, like the Hohenzollerns, have the audacity to claim that they rule "by grace of God." But Gladstone once truly said: "Nowhere in the world or in her history has Austria ever done anything good or noble." And the English poet Byron exclaimed, "God is not an Austrian."

*Hapsburg
claim to
rule.*

*American
and
German
ideals.*

The German Kaiser not long ago very truly remarked that this war is being waged to decide between American and German ideals. Yes, that is true. And by that measurement, Austria-Hungary is condemned to dismemberment as the logical consequence of American political principles. If human liberty, government of the people, by the people, and for the people, if the equality of nations, great and small, is the democratic basis of modern society, then, indeed, is Austria-Hungary condemned to break up.

*New na-
tions to be
formed.*

If Russia is now to be helped, this can best be done by breaking into pieces the artificial empire of the Hapsburgs. Between the Teutons and the Russians there will then arise free Poland, Bohemia and Slovakia, United Rumania, and Yugoslavia, Italia redeemed. The Germans and Magyars will then be completely surrounded

by these now independent Slav and Latin nations. Russia will never more be a next door neighbor to Prussia. She will be protected from the baneful influence of Berlin, and the Russian people and the rejuvenated nationalities of the great Russian federation will be able to develop freely.

The friends of Austria-Hungary attempt to persuade the world—and themselves—that small nations cannot exist, that they must combine in a federation. Austria, these people declare, is such a federation. Austria was a federation so long as her component states (Austria, Hungary, Bohemia) were independent. A federation presupposes the freedom of its component states. But how can Austria, a state which had its origin in violence and which maintains its power solely through force, be a real federation?

Federation presupposes free states.

The theory that small states and nations cannot exist is contradicted by fact and history. In Europe to-day there are twenty-seven states, the great majority of which are small.

Long ago the Pan-Germans openly declared that Austria is the chief instrument of the German grandiose policy of "*Drang nach Osten*," "push to the east." Bismarck inaugurated this policy after Prussia had defeated Austria in 1866, and it has been the German policy down to the present day. Austria is Germany's bridge to the Balkans, and thence to Turkey, the East, and Africa. Therefore Germany has always so vigorously defended

"Push to the east."

Austria. Austria was defeated by Russia, by Italy, even by little Serbia. Germany saved her and is saving her still. Austria is the strength, but also the weakness, of Germany. The Prussian war lords will be quite willing to give up Belgium, all occupied French territory, even Alsace-Lorraine, if only Austria's "integrity" is preserved. Austria is Germany's vanguard to the East and against Russia.

*Austria is
Germany's
vanguard.*

*Czechs and
Slovaks
with the
Allies.*

The Czechs and their brother Slovaks have actually been fighting on the side of the western Allies since the war began. Almost the day after the Germans entered Belgium, the entire Czecho-Slovak nation arrayed itself against Austria and Germany and on the side of the Entente. This movement was spontaneous and general. The Government at Vienna responded by canceling all the liberties of the Czechs. Parliament having been dissolved, all political parties were put under police supervision, newspapers were muzzled or suppressed, political meetings were forbidden. In short, for the Slavs and Latins of Austria the war began by terror at home. Vienna, of course, knew that only the Germans and Magyars were for war.

*Germans
and
Magyars
for war.*

Czecho-Slovak soldiers began at once a literally open opposition to war and to the Government at Vienna. They refused to fight, surrendered to the Russians en masse and soon formed Czecho-Slovak legions in the Allied armies. These Czecho-Slovak soldiers thus began a new and peculiar sort of revolution, which the world

at first did not understand. Now, it is all becoming clear and appreciated. This revolution is the result of a movement among the Czech people, popular and spontaneous. There are, of course, a number of Czech political parties as among any other politically mature peoples. But this very political maturity among the Czechs is indicated by the absolutely unanimous attitude on the war and the rights of the people.

*The
strange
Czecho-
Slovak
revolution.*

Nothing the Hapsburgs might do could move the Czechs. The most revolting forms of terrorism, such as literally decimating their regiments, hanging and shooting of civilians, even of women and children; the confiscation of property, throwing into jail thousands of innocent people; all was of no avail. Then the Hapsburg Emperor tried a new course. He promised federalization, autonomy, and his own coronation as King of Bohemia. Nothing moved the Czechs. They utterly refused to put any trust in the word of a Hapsburg.

*Emperor
promises
autonomy.*

Just at this moment—as the course of history is here being traced—with the unanimous approval of the Czechs in all the homelands, the Czecho-Slovak National Council was formed. This body organized the Czech and Slovak colonies in the Allied and neutral countries. It organized the army and then, calmly and with a full realization of what such action implied, it declared (on November 14, 1915) that the Hapsburgs had been deposed from the throne of Bohemia. Having been elected by the free will of the nation and having violated the

*Czecho-
Slovak
National
Council.*

mutual agreement, they are now—so runs the Czech declaration—deposed. Guilty as the Hapsburgs are of this war, the Czechs insist that such a dynasty and its rule are obstacles to the sound development of Europe.

*Armies on
three
fronts.*

With armies fighting on three fronts (in France, in Italy, in Russia), the Czecho-Slovak nation is working out its logical, historical destiny. Austrians may call these men traitors. But their revolution will surely be justified by their democratic effort for the restitution of their independence. "Before Austria existed," said Palacky, "Bohemia was. When Austria has passed away, Bohemia still shall be."

*Political
signifi-
cance of
Czecho-
Slovak
state.*

There is, not only in Europe, but in world politics as well, a real political significance in the rise of the Czecho-Slovak state. In the first place, such a state will be one effective barrier against German ambition. The Czechs are really the westernmost anti-German wedge of the Slavs. For more than a thousand years they have fought against the Germans. This has toughened them and taught them to defend themselves. Mommsen called upon his countrymen to break the hard skulls of the Czechs.

*Territory
of new
state.*

The Czecho-Slovak state will not even be among the smallest of Europe. It will be formed of the so-called "crown lands" of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and of Slovakia (in the northern part of Hungary). This makes a territory four times as large as Belgium, with a population of between twelve and thirteen millions—this de-

pending on how the new map makers of Europe dispose of the national minorities. Of the Czechs and Slovaks themselves there are ten millions. This would make the new state the eighth in Europe in size, with nineteen smaller than it.

The affairs of the Czecho-Slovak people in their foreign relations—that is, their struggles during the present war for independence—were managed and directed by the Czecho-Slovak National Council, headquarters in Paris, but with branch offices in London, Petrograd, Rome, Washington, and New York. The Council is, in fact, the provisional government of the future Czecho-Slovak state. Its functions, however, deal not with domestic affairs but with the army, and relations with foreign nations.

*Officers of
the
Council.*

Its deliberations and decisions were very largely, if not almost wholly, inspired and executed by the mind and will of one man, the President, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, author, scholar, scientist, philosopher, statesman, and founder of the Progressive Party in Bohemia. Professor Masaryk established in Paris the Czecho-Slovak Revolutionary Committee, and later organized in Russia, from among prisoners of war, an army of his countrymen fifty thousand strong. This is the nucleus of the now famous Czecho-Slovak fighting force that has seemed to rise out of the mists of the great war, and, even now, as this is written, has been the solid foundation upon which a new eastern front against Germany has been re-established.

*President
Masaryk.*

*Mutiny of
submarine
crews at
Kiel.*

[On January 7, 1918, in mutiny at Kiel, German naval base, submarine crews kill thirty-eight of their officers. On January 13, Premier Clemenceau orders arrest in Paris of former Premier Caillaux on charge of treason. On January 14, attempt is made to shoot Russian Premier Lenin. On January 31, it is for the first time announced that United States troops are occupying first-line trenches. Germans raid American line, kill 2, wound 4, one missing. On February 1, Major General Peyton C. March is made Chief of General Staff. On February 14, Paris court-martial finds Bolo Pasha guilty of treason, sentences him to death; a co-defendant, Filippo Cavallinie, under arrest in Italy, sentenced to death. Darius Porchere is sentenced to three years' imprisonment. On March 3, by treaty of peace with four Central Powers signed at Brest-Litovsk, Bolsheviki agree to evacuate Ukrainia, Esthonia, and Livonia, Finland, the Aland Islands, and Trans-Caucasian districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum. On March 5, in Lorraine sector, United States troops of "Rainbow Division" (New York City) repel German raid and take prisoners. On March 6, United States troops hold four and one-half miles of battle front "somewhere in France."

*Brest-
Litovsk
Treaty.*

On March 21, beginning of "Big Drive" on 50-mile front, from Arras to La Fère. On Luneville sector United States artillery fire destroys first and second line positions. German long-range gun bombards Paris. On March 29, the French General, Ferdinand Foch, chosen

*Big Ger-
man drive
begins.*

Commander in Chief of all Allied forces in France (British, French, American, Italian, Belgian and Portuguese). The German long-range gun kills 75 worshippers at Good Friday services in a Paris church, and wounds 90. On April 3, War Council at Washington, D. C., announces that all available shipping will be used to rush troops to France. On April 10, British and Portuguese, on line from La Bassée Canal to Armentières, are forced back six miles; at Messines Ridge, south of Ypres, British retire two miles. United States Government takes over 63 coastwise vessels, making, with railroad-owned vessels, 111 coastwise ships (nearly 400,000 tons under Government control). On April 12, Charles M. Schwab made Director General of Emergency Fleet Corporation, to have entire charge of Government shipbuilding programme. Field Marshal Haig issues a special order of the day, "All positions must be held to the last man."

*Foch is
Com-
mander in
Chief.*

On April 16, Bolo Pasha, convicted in France of treason, executed. On April 22, Baron von Richthofen, the leader of the German flyers, with eighty victories to his credit, is brought down behind the British lines and buried with military honors. Gavrilo Prinzip, Serbian assassin of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Francis Ferdinand, in July, 1914, died in an Austrian fortress. On May 26, treaty of peace is signed at Bucharest by representatives of Rumania and the four Central Powers. On May 27, big drive begins on western front, Germans drive Allies across the Aisne-Marne Canal, take Cormicy,

*Bolo Pasha
found
guilty of
treason.*

*New Ger-
man drive
begins.*

Cauroy and Loivre; Germans attack British at Berry-aubac and the French by the Chemin-des-Dames; Germans take Chemin-des-Dames Ridge; near Dickebusch Lake Germans penetrate French positions, advance in Aisne Valley, reach Pont-Arcy. On May 30, Germans advance to within two miles of Rheims. On May 31, German forces north of the Aisne advance to Nouvron and Fontenoy, but fail to cross the Marne. On June 6, west of Château-Thierry, United States troops drive Germans a mile on two-mile front. On June 16, on Italian front, Allies regain all ground lost in first Austrian rush, except a few places on Piave River. On June 25, American marines and regulars clear Belleau Wood. On June 27, the first contingent of American troops arrives in Italy. On July 6, Mohammed VI. is proclaimed Sultan of Turkey. On July 9, the French armies advance on a wide front. On July 13, the former Czar Nicholas of Russia is assassinated by Bolsheviki. On July 18, French and American troops begin great offensive against Germans. On August 6, General Foch is made a Marshal of France. On September 7, the Germans begin a general retreat on a front of 100 miles. On September 13, American forces clear the St. Mihiel salient, and take 12,000 prisoners. On September 22, General Allenby defeats Turks in Palestine, taking 12,000 prisoners. On September 30, Bulgaria signs an armistice. On October 8, President Wilson asks Germany's intentions in regard to peace. On October 9, the British take Cambrai. On

*United
States
at Châ-
teau-
Thierry.*

*Czar
Nicholas
of Russia
assassinated.*

*Germans
begin gen-
eral retreat.*

October 10, Hsu Shi Chang is inaugurated President of China. On October 23, President Wilson promises Germany to take up question of armistice with Allies. On October 28, Hungary accepts terms offered by Allies. On November 4, Austria accepts terms of truce. On November 7, Americans capture Sedan. On November 8, General Foch receives German armistice delegates. On November 9, Socialists take over government in Berlin, Americans advance in heavy fighting. On November 11, German envoys sign armistice terms. On November 12, Kaiser Wilhelm flees to Holland. On November 21, the entire German fleet surrenders. On November 22, homeward movement of American forces begins. King Albert makes triumphal entry into Brussels. On December 3, President Wilson starts for the Peace Conference. On January 3, President Wilson appoints Herbert Hoover director general of an international organization for the relief of the starving populations of the liberated countries. On January 6, 1919, Theodore Roosevelt dies suddenly at his home, Oyster Bay, L. I. On January 13, the House of Representatives passes the measure appropriating \$100,000,000 for the aid of the starving peoples of Europe. On January 15, the Berlin Government announces the completion of a newly drafted constitution covering the union of fifteen States. On January 17, Jan Ignace Paderewski is named Premier of Poland. On January 18, the Peace Conference holds its first session in Paris. Clemenceau is chosen President.

*German
sign
armistice.*

*King
Albert
enters
Brussels.*

*German
complete
Constitu-
tion.*

*League
of Nations
is created.*

On January 19, general elections are held in Germany. On January 25, the Peace Conference adopts a resolution creating a League of Nations. On January 29, the new Polish Government is recognized by President Wilson. On February 6, the German National Assembly convenes at Weimar. Friedrich Ebert is elected President. On February 7, American recognition is extended to Yugoslavia. On February 14, President Wilson reads before the Peace Conference the summary of the covenant of the League of Nations.]

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(A.D. 1919)

PREAMBLE—In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual role of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

The purposes of the League.

ARTICLE I.—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

A body of delegates.

ART. II.—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be

held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

Each high contracting party to have a vote.

ART. III.—The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of —— shall be members of the Executive Council.

Nations to be represented in the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time, as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Meetings at least once a year.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken

at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

ART. IV.—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

Committees to investigate particular matters.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ART. V.—The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at —, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The permanent secretariat.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ART. VI.—Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the

*Representatives
to have
diplomatic
privileges.*

business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

*Admission
to the
League.*

ART. VII.—Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No state shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

*To reduce
national
armaments.*

ART. VIII.—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in pro-

portion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. *To regulate private manufacture of munitions.*

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ART. IX.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ART. X.—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise *Territorial integrity.*

upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ART. XI.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

*All wars
the
concern
of the
League.*

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ART. XII.—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

*Disputes
to be
submitted
to arbi-
tration.*

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the

recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ART. XIII.—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

The Executive Council to act if arbitration fails.

ART. XIV.—The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

A permanent court of international justice.

ART. XV.—If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General who will make all necessary arrange-

Cases to be stated to the Executive Council.

ments for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

*Terms of
settle-
ments
to be
published.*

*Measures
to give
effect to
recom-
menda-
tions.*

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The

dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII, relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

Dispute may be referred to the body of delegates.

ART. XVI.—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII, it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

When a nation breaks its covenants.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

Armed forces of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience result-

*Financial
and
economic
measures.*

ing from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to forces of any high contracting party who is co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

*When a
non-
member
is party
to a
dispute.*

ART. XVII.—In the event of dispute between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.



GENERAL PERSHING LANDING IN FRANCE. (Page 19)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Executive Council to take means to settle the dispute.

ART. XVIII.—The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

Supervision of trade in arms.

ART. XIX.—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

Development of backward peoples a sacred trust.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geo-

Provisional recognition of certain communities.

Central Africa peoples.

graphical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. *The South Pacific Idles.*

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. *Mandatory's annual report.*

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates. *The mandatory commission.*

ART. XX.—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

ART. XXI.—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit

*Trans-
portation
and com-
merce.*

and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

*Inter-
national
bureaus
placed
under
League.*

ART. XXII.—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

*Treaties
to be
registered
with the
League.*

ART. XXIII.—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

*Reconsid-
eration
of
treaties.*

ART. XXIV.—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ART. XXV.—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not

hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

*To procure
release
from obli-
gations in-
consistent
with the
League.*

ART. XXVI.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives composed the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

*Covenant
to be
ratified.*

[On February 15, 1919, President Wilson sails for America. On February 19, M. Clemenceau is shot by a French anarchist. On March 5, President Wilson starts on his return trip to Paris. On March 13, the President arrives in France. On April 23, the Italian delegates withdraw because of Wilson's attitude on Fiume. On April 28, the Covenant of the League of Nations is adopted by the Peace Conference. On May 6, the terms of the Peace Treaty are presented to the Powers represented at the Conference. On May 21, an extension of one week is granted to the Germans for consideration of the Peace Treaty. On May 26, the Council of Four declares in favor of recognizing the Kolchak Government in Russia. On May 27, the American NC-boats attempt a trans-Atlantic

*Italians
demand
Fiume.*

*German
counter
proposals
to Peace
Treaty.*

flight. The *NC-4* reaches Horta in the Azores under its own power. On May 29, the German delegates present counter proposals to the Peace Treaty. On June 14, the Council of Five finishes the revisions made to meet the protests of the Germans.]

OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF THE TREATY OF PEACE

(A.D. 1919)

GERMANY

THE preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, described as the five allied and associated powers, and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay, who with the five above are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part, Germany. *The allied and associated powers.*

It states that: bearing in mind that on the request of the then Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, by the principal allied and associated powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers, being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or

indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form), have agreed as follows:

*Desire for
a firm,
just, and
durable
peace.*

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From the moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty, official relations with Germany, and with each of the German States, will be resumed by the allied and associated powers.

SECTION I

League of Nations.—The covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I of the peace treaty, which places upon the League many specific, in addition to its general, duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of a neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Sarre Commission, oversee its régime, and carry out the plebiscite. It will appoint the High Commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites

*Specific
duties
of the
League of
Nations.*

of the Belgium-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems. An International Conference on Labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways, and railways is foreshadowed.

Membership.—The members of the League will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. A new State, dominion, or colony may be admitted, provided its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly. A State may withdraw upon giving two years' notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

How States may become members or withdraw.

Secretariat.—A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the League, which will be at Geneva.

Permanent secretariat at Geneva.

Assembly.—The Assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the League, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by States. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

Voting by States.

Council.—The Council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the Assembly from time to time; it may co-opt additional States and will meet at least once a year.

Meetings at least once a year.

Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests

are discussed. Voting will be by States. Each State will have one vote and not more than one representative. A decision taken by the Assembly and Council must be unanimous except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

Armaments.—The Council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the Council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the Council on military and naval questions.

Preventing of War.—Upon any war, or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out an arbitral award and not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it. If a member fails to carry out the award, the Council will propose the necessary measures. The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the Assembly. If the Council, less the parties

*Permanent
commission
on
military
and naval
questions.*

*Members
to submit
disputes to
arbitra-
tion.*

to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case, a recommendation, by the Assembly, concurred in by all its members represented on the Council and a simple majority of the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the Council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured, the members reserve the right to take such [action?] as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the League collectively for the protection of the covenants and will afford facilities to members co-operating in this enterprise.

*Council
to con-
sider
means to
protect
covenants.*

Validity of Treaties.—All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institution of the League will be registered with the secretariat and published. The Assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger to peace.

The covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the

*Monroe
Doctrine
not to be
invalid-
dated.*

Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

*For
nations
not able
to stand
alone.*

The Mandatory System.—The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be intrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The covenant recognizes three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandatories:

*Provi-
sional
independ-
ence.*

(a) Communities like those belonging to the Turkish Empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from mandatory in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

*Abuses
to be pro-
hibited.*

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the members of the League, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members; certain abuses, such as trade in slaves, arms, and liquor will be prohibited, and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

*League to
determine
degree of
manda-
tory's
authority.*

(c) Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

General International Provisions.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international convention, existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will in general endeavor, through the

international organization established by the Labor Convention, to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women and children in their own countries and other countries, and undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, &c.; and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the League, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease. International bureaus and commissions already established will be placed under the League, as well as those to be established in the future.

To maintain fair conditions of labor.

Steps for prevention and control of disease.

Amendments to the Covenant.—Amendments to the covenant will take effect when ratified by the Council and by a majority of the Assembly.

SECTION II

Boundaries of Germany.—Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles to the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland, totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and in-

Germany to cede territory to France and Poland.

cluding Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 27,686 square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeastern tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the river Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the Basin of the Sarre, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula Rivers made a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the city of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,785 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

SECTION III

Belgium.—Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated powers may determine to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmédy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this

*Frontier
changes.*

change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

Luxemburg.—Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January first, last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it reached by the allied and associated powers.

Left Bank of the Rhine.—As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any maneuvers, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, "she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world." "By virtue of the present treaty, Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the Council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

Alsace-Lorraine.—After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the Treaty of Frankfort are

*Germany
to re-
nounce
rights of
exploita-
tion.*

*No
German
forti-
fications
or armed
forces.*

*Terri-
tories
restored
to France.*

restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

*How
French
citizen-
ship may
be
acquired.*

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty. All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways. The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation for their upkeep.

*Manu-
factured
products
to be
admitted
to
Germany.*

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war, and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and re-exported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years. For seven years, with possible extension to ten, the ports of Kehl and Strassbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine Commission. Property rights will be safe-

*Adminis-
tration of
Kehl and
Strass-
bourg.*

guarded in both ports and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

Contracts between Alsace-Lorraine and Germans are maintained save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest. Judgments of courts hold in certain classes of cases while in others a judicial exequatur is first required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to the special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

The Sarre.—In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in northern France and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Sarre Basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the Reparation Commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners, whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine as re-annexed to France north as far as St. Wendel includ-

*Contracts,
judgments
of courts,
political
condem-
nations.*

*To
compen-
sate for
destruc-
tion of
mines in
France.*

ing on the west the valley of the Sarre as far as Sarreholzbach and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines, the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations and consisting of five members, one French, one a native inhabitant of the Sarre, and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany. The League will appoint a member of the Commission as Chairman to act as executive of the Commission. The Commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria, will administer the railroads and other public services and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses. The local courts will continue, but subject to the Commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the Commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly which it will organize. It will have the taxing power but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly. Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the League. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Sarre Commission.

*To be
governed
by a com-
mission.*

*A local
representa-
tive
assembly
to be
organized.*

There will be no military service, but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property. The territory will form part of the French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany nor on German products entering the basin and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin. For local consumption French money may circulate without restriction.

*Liberty
of
religion
and
language.*

After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing régime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over twenty resident therein at the signature. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed the League will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation. If the price is not paid within six months thereafter this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines the League will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

*Plebiscite
to be held
after
fifteen
years.*

SECTION IV

Independence to be recognized.

German Austria.—"Germany recognizes the total independence of German Austria in the boundaries traced."

Frontiers of the new State.

Czecho-Slovakia.—Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

A Boundary Commission to be constituted.

Poland.—Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen and the Province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A Field Boundary Commission of seven, five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic or religious minorities and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the principal allied and associated powers and Poland.

Minorities to be protected.

Frontiers of East Prussia and Poland.

East Prussia.—The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as touching Poland is to be fixed by plebiscites, the first in the regency of Allenstein between

the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier, or Regierungsbezirk Allenstein, from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Angersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circle of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within fifteen days of the peace, and the territories be placed under an international commission of five members appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the result of the plebiscites to the powers with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

German troops and officials to leave.

The principal allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to, and use of, the Vistula. A subsequent convention, with term to be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

Access to the Vistula.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

Danzig.—Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "free city of Danzig" under the guarantee of the League of Nations. A high commissioner appointed by the League and President of Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city, and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers, and one each by Germany and Poland.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig, which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers through a free area in the port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city, and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

*Danzig to
be under
League of
Nations.*

*Conven-
tion
between
Danzig
and
Poland.*

Denmark.—The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tønning; the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils shall be dissolved, and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

*Frontier
to be
fixed by
self-deter-
mination.*

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the Island of Alsen, north of Flensburg, and south of Tondern to the North Sea, north of the Island of Sylt, will vote as a unit within three weeks after the evacuation. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North Sea south of the Island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygum, will vote by communes. Two weeks after that vote the third zone running to the limit of evacuation will also vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the principal allied and associated governments, which will hand them over to Denmark.

*Voting to
be in
zones.*

Fortifications to be destroyed.

Helgoland.—The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the islands of Helgoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labor and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed, nor any similar fortifications built in the future.

Brest-Litovsk treaty to be abrogated.

Russia.—Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the allied and associated powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon. The allied and associated powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation on the principles of the present treaty.

SECTION V

Germany to renounce rights.

German Rights Outside Europe.—Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her allies' territories to all the allied and associated powers, and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

Colonies and Overseas Possessions.—Germany renounces in favor of the allied and associated powers her overseas possessions with all rights and titles therein. All

movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire, or to any German State, shall pass to the government exercising authority therein. These governments may make whatever provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals and as to the conditions on which German subjects of European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business. Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or its frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of the individual Germans from the 1st of January, 1900, to 1st of August, 1914. Germany renounces all rights under the convention of the 4th of November, 1911, and the 29th of September, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the Repatriation Commission all deposits, credits, advances, &c., thereby secured. Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the allied and associated powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa as well as to the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act of Brussels of 1890. Diplomatic protection to inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the governments exercising authority.

China.—Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks for munitions of warships, wireless plants, and other public

Property of German Empire to be transferred to new governments.

Germany to renounce Boxer indemnities.

property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiao-Chau and agrees to return to China at her own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the powers signatory to the Boxer Protocol.

*Abroga-
tion of
conces-
sions in
China.*

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her State property in the British concession at Canton and of France and China jointly of the property of the German School in the French concession at Shanghai.

*Right of
extrater-
ritoriality
to cease.*

Siam.—Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extraterritoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property, except consular and diplomatic premises, passes without compensation to Siam, German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

Liberia.—Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia and recognizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the re-establishment of Germans in Liberia.

Commercial treaties and agreements to be abrogated.

Morocco.—Germany renounces all her rights, titles, and privileges under the Act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and renounces the capitulations: the Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian Government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

Germany to renounce rights in Morocco.

Egypt.—Germany recognizes the British Protectorate

To recognize British Protectorate over Egypt.

over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulation and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

Arrangements with Turkey and Bulgaria.

Turkey and Bulgaria.—Germany accepts all arrangements which the allied and associated powers made with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

To cede Kiao-Chau rights to Japan.

Shantung.—Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles, and privileges, notably as to Kiao-Chau, and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, and by other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan,

and the cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and Che-foo, the cables free of all charges. All German State property, movable and immovable, in Kiao-Chau is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

SECTION VI

Military, Naval and Air.—In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

Military Forces.—The demobilization of the German Army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The great German General Staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employees of the German States, such as customs officers, first guards, and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

*German
Army to
be demo-
bilized.*

Armaments.—All establishments for the manufactur-

*Munition
works to
be closed.*

ing, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace, and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids is forbidden as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

*Conscrip-
tion to be
abolished
in
Germany.*

Conscription.—Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of twelve consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed 5 per cent of the total effectives. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of forty-five years, and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for twenty-five years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

Fortresses.—All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a zone of fifty

kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Fortifications on Rhine to be dismantled.

Control.—Interallied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of Government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction, or surrender of war equipment.

Interallied commissions of control.

Naval.—The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will be allowed 6 small battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of twenty-five years' service for officers and twelve for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

German navy to be demobilized.

All German vessels of war in foreign ports and the German high sea fleet interned at Scapa Flow will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender 42 modern destroyers, 50 modern

German war vessels that must be surrendered.

torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels. All war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve, or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships except those lost can take place only at the end of twenty years for battleships and fifteen years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted with be 10,000 tons.

To sweep up mines.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic, defending the passages through the belts, must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and caliber of the guns must not be increased.

German wireless messages only for commercial purposes.

Wireless.—During a period of three months after the peace, German high power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes, and under supervision of the allied and associated governments, nor may any more be constructed.

To renounce title to cables.

Cables.—Germany renounces all title to specified cables, the value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which after having been cut, have been removed, or are at any

rate not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of the allied and associated powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

Air.—The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1 to search for submarine mines. No dirigible shall be kept. The entire air personnel is to be demobilized within two months, except for 1,000 officers and men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine, or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the 100 seaplanes already specified.

Prisoners of War.—The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the Allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentences. Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war,

Air personnel to be demobilized.

Repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians.

the Allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The Allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied nationals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

*Graves
to be
respected
and main-
tained.*

Graves.—Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associate government with identifying, registering, maintaining or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

SECTION VII

*Wil-
liam II.
charged
with
responsi-
bility for
war.*

Responsibilities.—"The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge

from each of the five great powers, with full guaranties of the right of defense. It is to be guided "by the highest motives of international policy with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality," and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of only one State, they will be tried before a tribunal of that State; if they affect nationals of several States, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the States concerned. Germany shall hand over to the allied and associated powers, jointly or severally, all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility. The judge [garbled in cabling] will be entitled to name his own counsel.

Persons who violated laws of war to be tried.

SECTION VIII

Reparation and Restitution.—"The allied and associated governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

Germany's responsibility for loss and damage.

The total obligation of Germany to pay as defined in the category of damages is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing, and not later than May 1, 1921, by an interallied Reparation Commission.

At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the Allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step toward restoration Germany shall pay within two years one thousand million pounds sterling in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payments.

This sum being included in, and not additional to, the first thousand million bond issue referred to below, with the understanding that certain expenses, such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials, may be deducted at the discretion of the Allies.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839 up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the Reparation Commission 5 per cent gold bonds falling due in 1926.

*Schedule
of pay-
ments to
be pre-
sented.*

*One thou-
sand
million
pounds in
two years.*

*Belgium
to be
repaid.*

While the allied and associated governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminution of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damage caused to civilians under seven main categories:

*Damage to
civilians
to be
compen-
sated.*

(a) Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly, including bombardments from the air.

(b) Damages caused to civilians, including exposure at sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy, and to civilians in the occupied territories.

(c) Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

(d) Damages to the Allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.

(e) Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

(f) Damages to civilians by being forced to labor.

(g) Damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Reparation Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan; and secondly,

*Work of
Repara-
tion Com-
mission.*

so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, a representative of Serbia or Japan taking the place of the Belgian representative when the interests of either country are particularly affected, with all other allied powers entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay, and shall assure her a just opportunity to be heard. It shall make its permanent headquarters at Paris, establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control of the whole reparation problem; and become the exclusive agency of the Allies for receiving, holding, selling, and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail, except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of sell-

*Reprisals
in case
of default.*

*Germany's
capacity
to pay.*

ing, distributing, and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, any postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930 and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years, or the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar former case, and the interpretation of provisions. Withdrawal from representation is permitted on twelve months' notice.

The Commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guaranty, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debts as follows: 20,000,000,000 marks gold, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearing 2 1-2 per cent interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent, with a 1 per cent sinking fund payment beginning 1926; and an undertaking to deliver 40,000,000,000 marks gold bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent, under terms to be fixed by the Commission.

Guaranties to cover claims.

Interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent unless otherwise determined by the Commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may "be accepted by the Commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, &c." Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or

Interest on Germany's debt.

Certificates to represent bonds or goods.

goods delivered by Germany, may be issued by the Commission to the interested powers, no power being entitled, however, to have its certificates divided into more than five pieces. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the Commission, an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

Right of Allies to have merchant shipping replaced.

Shipping.—The German Government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships, and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upward; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the Reparation Committee, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships free from encumbrance.

"As an additional part of reparation," the German Government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the Allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent thereof.

Dyestuffs and Chemical Drugs.—In order to effect

payment by deliveries in kind, Germany is required, for a limited number of years, varying in the case of each, to deliver coal, coal-tar products, dyestuffs and chemical drugs, in specific amounts to the Reparations Commission. The Commission may so modify the conditions of delivery as not to interfere unduly with Germany's industrial requirements. The deliveries of coal are based largely upon the principle of making good diminutions in the production of the allied countries resulting from the war.

Material to be delivered to Reparations Commission.

Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent of the total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes into force, and similar option during each six months to the end of 1924 up to 25 per cent of the previous six months' output.

Devastated Areas.—Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The Reparations Commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, &c., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes; all with due consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

Machinery and animals to be replaced.

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between the annual pre-war output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and the annual production during the above ten-year period. Ger-

French damages in coal and fuel to be made good.

many further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons of coal per year to France in addition to the above, of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920 to 8,500,000 in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in the ratio of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar, and of ammonia. The Commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany.

*Koran of
Caliph
Othman
and skull
of
Okwawa.*

Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz, and the skull of the Sultan Okwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to his Britannic Majesty's Government.

*French
papers
and flags.*

The German Government is also to restore to the French Government certain papers taken by the German authorities in 1870, belonging then to M. Reuher, and to restore the French flags taken during the war of 1870 and 1871.

*Repara-
tions to
the
Louvain
Library.*

As reparation for the destruction of the Library of Louvain, Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, &c., to the equivalent of those destroyed.

In addition to the above Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings, now in Berlin, belonging to the altar-

piece of "The Adoration of the Lamb," by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, the center of which is now in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent, and the wings, now in Berlin and Munich, of the altarpiece of "The Last Supper," by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain.

*Belgian
works of
art.*

Finance.—Powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain portion of the German pre-war debt, the amount to be fixed by the Reparations Commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenue of the ceded territory and Germany's total revenues for the three years preceding the war. In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany's pre-war debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland. If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the States to which property is ceded will give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine. Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German Government property. Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of, State banks, commissions, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

*The pre-
war debts
of Alsace.*

*German
debts not
to be as-
sumed by
mandatory
powers.*

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies

*Germany
to pay cost
of armies
of occupa-
tion.*

of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the Allies may deem necessary.

*Funds de-
posited by
Turkey
and
Austria-
Hungary.*

Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her to them during the war, and to transfer to the Allies all claims against Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey in connection with agreements made during the war. Germany confirms the renunciation of the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

*Public
utilities in
ceded ter-
ritories.*

On the request of the Reparations Commission, Germany will expropriate any rights or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the Reparations Commission, which will credit her with their value. Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of Sao Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

*Brazilian
coffee
to be
paid for.*

SECTION IX

Opium.—The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened

at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the third opium conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within twelve months of the peace the necessary legislation.

Convention on opium.

Religious Missions.—The allied and associated powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers, Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

To continue their work.

SECTION X—ECONOMIC CLAUSES

Customs.—For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk, and washed or scoured wool this restriction obtains for two and a half years more. For five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations, Germany must give most-favored-nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

German tariff to be regulated for five years.

Shipping.—Ships of the allied and associated powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German

Rights of ships of the Allies.

vessels, and have most-favored-nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade, and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no seacoast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

*Safe-
guards
against
unfair
competi-
tion.*

Unfair Competition.—Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition, and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings, and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

*German
national-
ity.*

Treatment of Nationals.—Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restriction upon the nationals of allied and associated States for a period of five years and, unless the League of Nations acts, for an additional five years German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated State.

*Postal
and tele-
graphic
conven-
tions.*

Multilateral Conventions.—Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several. As to postal and telegraphic conventions Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new States. She must agree as respects the radiotelegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to her, and adhere to the new convention when formulated. In the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention,

rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers. As to the international railway union she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated. China, as to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement of 1905 regarding Whangpoo, and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Rumania, as to The Hague Convention of 1903, relating to civil procedure, and Great Britain and the United States as to Article III of the Samoan Treaty of 1899, are relieved of all obligations toward Germany.

North Sea conventions.

Arrangements with various nations.

Bilateral Treaties.—Each allied and associated State may renew any treaty with Germany in so far as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy States, and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia, and governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated, and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects are annulled. The allied and associated States are to enjoy most-favored-nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy States before August 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral States during the war.

Renewal of treaties.

Pre-War Debts.—A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated State which adopts the plan for the payment of pre-war debts, including those arising

Clearing houses for pre-war debts.

from contracts suspended by the war. For the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations each participating State assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy States, except in case of pre-war insolvency of the debtor. The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that State, direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited. Disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country, or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any allied or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving six months' notice.

*Damages
for private
property
seized or
injured.*

Enemy Property.—Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated States may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany. For debts owed to their nationals by German nationals and for other claims against Germany, Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated States. All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed and all claims

by Germany against the allied or associated governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

Pre-war contracts between allied and associated nationals excepting the United States, Japan, and Brazil and German nationals are cancelled except for debts for accounts already performed. *Pre-war contracts.*

Agreements.—For the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgages, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with governments and insurance contracts, mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the allied and associated States and the third by agreement, or, failing which, by the President of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty. *Disputes as to transfers of property already made.*

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war except where the risk insured against had already been incurred. Where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable, otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated. *Insurance contracts.*

unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer. Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nationals and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

Industrial Property.—Rights as to industrial, literary, and artistic property are re-established. The special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and Germany, pre-war licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are cancelled.

*Conditions
on use of
German
patents
and copy-
rights.*

SECTION XI

Aerial Navigation.—Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most-favored-nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the allied and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923, unless Germany has since been admitted to the League or to the above convention.

*Allied air-
craft in
German
territory.*

SECTION XII

Freedom of Transit.—Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by mail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any tax discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

Free Zones in Ports.—Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, packing, and shipping, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

International Rivers.—The Elbe from the junction of the Ultava, the Ultava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections.

The riparian states must insure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czecho-Slovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden. If any riparian state on the Niemen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian state meet within three months to revise existing international agreement.

The Danube.—The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. The upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definite statute be

*Appeal to
a special
tribunal
under
international
commissions.*

*Representatives
in
European
Danube
Commission.*

drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the allied and associated governments within one year after the peace.

The enemy governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused to the European Commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia, and Rumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying on improvements in navigation.

The Rhine and the Moselle.—The Rhine is placed under the Central Commission to meet at Strassbourg within six months after the peace, and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the President, four of Germany, and two of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

Rhine-Meuse Canal.—Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep-draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium, similarly the interested allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission.

The Rhine is under the Central Commission.

Plan for a Rhine-Meuse Canal.

Germany may not object if the Central Rhine Commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

*Facilities
for navigation to
be ceded.*

Germany must cede to the allied and associated governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine, shares in the German navigation companies and property such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of the war must be handed over.

*Communi-
cation by
rail to be
assured.*

Railways.—Germany, in addition to most-favored-nation treatment on her railways, agrees to cooperate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage; to insure communication by rail between the allied, associated, and other States; to allow the construction or improvement within twenty-five years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gothard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions provided for the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service.

Czecho-Slovakia.—To assure Czecho-Slovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Toward the Adriatic she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her, for ninety-nine years, spaces in Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

The Kiel Canal.—The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany. Subjects, goods and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of or disagreement as to those provisions, any State may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

SECTION XIII

International Labor Organization.—Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the government, and one each from the

employers and the employed, each of whom may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the lawmaking authority in every State participating. Each government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principles, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a Federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each State agrees to make to it, for presentation to the conference, an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body, in its executive, consists of twenty-four members, twelve representing the governments, six the employers, and six the employees, to serve for three years.

On complaint that any government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the secre-

tary general of the League. If the commission report fails to bring satisfactory action the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity with a possibility of economic action in the background.

Court of international justice.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women, and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

Labor conferences.

Labor Clauses.—Nine principles of labor conditions were recognized on the ground that "the well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development, they include: the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever prac-

Of supreme international importance.

ticable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

SECTION XIV—GUARANTIES

Western Europe.—As a guaranty for the execution of the treaty, German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for a fifteen years' period. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier, will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after fifteen years. In case the Interallied Reparation Commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

Eastern Europe.—All German troops at present in

The
bridge-
head of
Cologne.

German
troops.

territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the government concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

SECTION XV

Miscellaneous.—Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to recognize the new States in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

To recognize treaties made with Allies.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts. The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratifications made in Paris as

Decisions of prize courts.

soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

*Effective
on ratifica-
tion.*

THE FLIGHT OF THE NC-BOATS

(A.D. 1919)

G. C. WESTERVELT

AT nine forty-five on the evening of May 27, the NC-4 alighted in the harbor at Lisbon and the first trans-Atlantic airplane flight was an accomplished fact. *NC-4 reaches Lisbon.*

Nineteen days before, we had seen her wing her way from the surface of Jamaica Bay and with her two sister ships of the air disappear in the haze to the eastward—bound on a search for the aeronauts' Golden Fleece—off for a journey of 4,000 miles, over the waters of the Atlantic.

It was on a Thursday morning as the quartermaster at the Naval Air Station at Rockaway Beach sounded four bells—which meant ten o'clock—that the NC-1, the NC-3, and the NC-4 headed out from the beach at the Air Station. Back in the shed on the shore the NC-2, robbed of her wings for her more fortunate sister the NC-1, lay inert, and saw her chances of fame and glory depart. *The start from Rockaway Beach.*

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*"Nancies"
take
the air.*

"All aboard," a run down the bay for a half mile, a turn, and all three planes, their twelve powerful engines roaring, raced by the group upon the shore, and took the air, to fade into the distance and disappear.

*NC-planes
intended
for war.*

The *NC*-boats, the conception of Rear Admiral Taylor, the Chief Constructor of the Navy, had been designed and built for this exact purpose. Somewhat more grim, however, than a peace-time flight across the ocean had been his intention. They were conceived of for war purposes; to fly themselves across for the purpose of patrolling with heavy explosive charges against submarines.

*Secretary
of the
Navy
approves.*

After the trials of the *NC-1*, the first of its tribe to be completed in October, 1918, thought was immediately given to plans for the trans-Atlantic flight. The sudden ending of the war, however, and the demobilization duties this threw upon the naval personnel delayed these plans somewhat, and it was not until January of this year that the approval of the Secretary of the Navy for the definite project of crossing the Atlantic by air was sought and obtained.

Commander John Towers, the senior Naval Aviator, was an appropriate choice for the command of the expedition. Commander Richardson, one of the designers of the *NC*-boats, and a skillful naval aviator, was detailed in charge of flying tests. Lieutenant Commander Read and Lieutenant Commander Bellinger were set navigational problems for their solution.

Of possible courses across the ocean, that from Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland, to the Azores and thence to Lisbon, Portugal, was chosen. This would be the trans-Atlantic flight proper. Before it could be undertaken, however, the dangerous and difficult flight of more than 1,000 miles from Rockaway Beach, on Long Island, to Trepassey Bay must be made. After reaching Lisbon, it was hoped, as a matter of courtesy and of sentiment, to continue to Plymouth, England, about 800 miles farther.

Possible courses.

Trans-Atlantic flight to end at Lisbon.

As little as possible was to be left to chance. In addition to the equipping of the boats with all possible accessories by which success might be assisted, patrol vessels were being stationed every fifty or sixty miles, as stations of succor for an airship in distress, as lighthouses by night, as guiding posts marked by columns of smoke by day.

Little left to chance.

In no way, except for the fame and honor of being first across, were our flyers to be the competitors of others preparing for the flight. In the large money prizes offered, in the gifts to be expected from airplane and airplane engine companies, they had no interest, and were in no way concerned.

No interest in prizes offered.

Our preparations were thorough and comprehensive. In addition to the stake boats marking the course from Rockaway Beach to Plymouth, England, station ships with engines, spare parts, and all items for repairs and small replacements were at Halifax, Trepassey Bay,

Adequate preparation.

*The
"Nancies"
reliable.*

*Start of
seaplanes
from
Rockaway.*

N. F., in the Azores, at Lisbon, and at Plymouth. For forecasting the weather; for signaling to and from seaplanes; for assisting in navigating, all provisions had been made. The engines were tried and reliable; the ships were capable of covering the distances involved, and we who had built them knew that only misfortune, as differentiated from the ordinary mishaps of operation, would prevent the three from crossing successfully. The *NC-1*, the *NC-3*, and the *NC-4* left Rockaway Beach at 10 a. m. on the 8th of May. The *NC-1* and the *NC-3*, after nine more or less uneventful hours, landed in Halifax Harbor, 540 miles from Rockaway Beach. For these two ships, the flight, though an intensely interesting one and of the greatest value in preparing them for the longer flight ahead, was without important incidents.

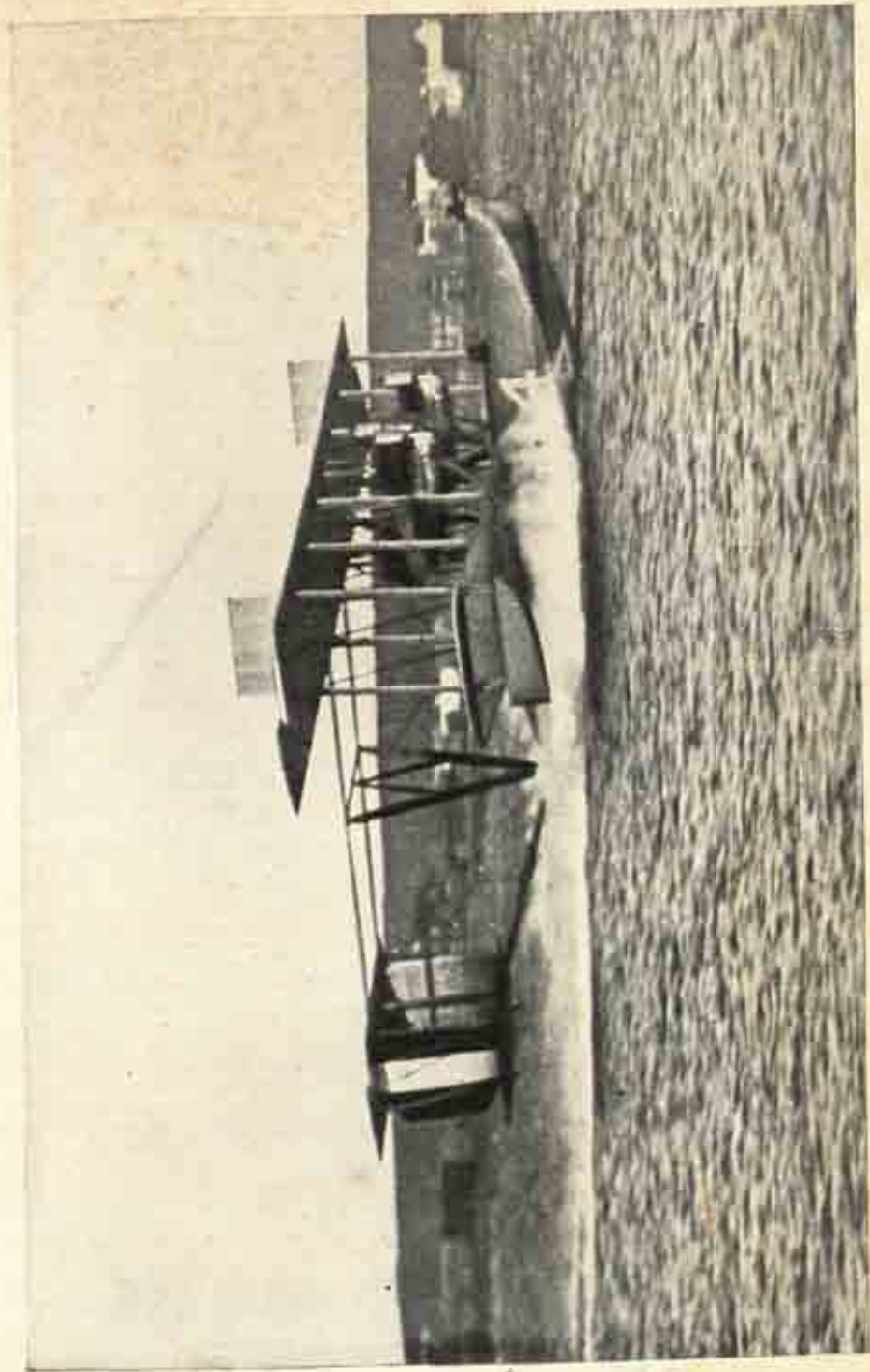
*NC-4 in
trouble.*

At two-thirty in the afternoon the *NC-4*, which had been for some time out of sight, reported to her sister ships that one engine had stopped, and that she was continuing on hopefully under three.

*NC-4 is
missing.*

*NC-4
reaches
Chatham.*

This was the last word from the *NC-4*. At Halifax nothing more was known of her; Washington, the destroyers on the course, and the world in general, knew nothing. Throughout the United States, throughout the world, doubtless, flashed the news that the *NC-4* had mysteriously disappeared and was missing, silent. Many anxious vigils were maintained that night, but of news there was none. And then, at five-thirty the next morning, from the wireless station at Chatham, Mass., on



THE NC-4 LEAVING FOR THE AZORES ON ITS TRANSATLANTIC FLIGHT (Page 173)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH



Cape Cod, flashed the welcome news—"The NC-4 is crossing the bar"—"crossing the bar" an ordinary stodgy, surface craft coming in from the sea, churning along like any other ship held to two dimensions!

Here was an accomplishment of great value. For some reason the lubricating oil from the center engines had run out. Perhaps in the excitement of starting, or in the disorganization resulting from the loss of their engineer, Howard, two days before, the oil tanks had not been filled. Anyway, first one center engine failed, then the other, and, being unable with the weight carried to fly on two, this ship of the air had landed in the ocean more than one hundred miles from shore. All that night she had run slowly toward the Chatham Air Station, making her reckoning to arrive there by daylight—at daylight she arrived.

The NC-4, which had escaped destruction by fire, now seemed out of the race. For such work as she required at Chatham, the facilities were not good. Engines of the desired sort were not available, and it seemed likely all hopes of a successful passage must be pinned on the NC-3 and the NC-1.

The ninth of May was spent by the "Three" and the "One" in Halifax Harbor, tuning up, changing propellers, and in the general work of preparing for the flight to Trepassey Bay, N. F. There was no hurry as there was no real expectation of making the start for the Azores before the fourteenth. The next morning at about

nine o'clock these two ships took the air for Trepassey Bay, 460 miles away.

Until the fourteenth, the weather over New England and to the northward was bad. On that day it was foggy on the Newfoundland banks and a start by the "Three" and the "One" was not possible. From Chatham had come word that Read had replaced his bad engine and would get under way as soon as the weather was favorable.

The next day, the fifteenth, Towers in the "Three," and Bellinger in the "One," made a late afternoon attempt to get away for the Azores. The weather was good, though at Trepassey the bay was very rough. The planes were too heavily loaded for the state of the sea and could not take to the air. As they taxied back to their buoys to remove a portion of the weight, the *NC-4* came down from a high altitude and preceded them up the bay to her anchorage. The squadron was once more together, and in the hope of making a full squadron get-away on the morrow the start was postponed.

That night and all the next day the overhaul gang groomed the *NC-4*. The engine borrowed at Chatham was removed and replaced by one exactly similar to the other three. By the late afternoon the "Four" was ready.

Weather conditions were splendid. The special weather "shark" sent to Newfoundland to digest all weather reports and predict the weather to be expected ahead, promised smooth seas and clear skies at the

*Planes
start and
return.*

*Making
ready to
start
together.*

*Good
weather
promised.*

Azores. All destroyers were on their stations. At 6.03 (Newfoundland time) the NC-3, commanded by Squadron Commander Towers, cast off from moorings and taxied down the bay toward the open water. At short intervals the "Four" and the "One" followed. At 7.17 the NC-4 took the air, the first airplane ever to take wing on such an adventure. The NC-3 and the NC-1, somewhat more heavily loaded than the "Four," were having difficulty in getting off the water. In the case of the "Three," this was so serious that Lieutenant Rhodes, the reserve engineer, was disembarked, and between two and three hundred pounds of weight, including a portion of the radio, was removed. During this time the "Four" flew on out of sight and, apparently, the ocean flight was on; but, after about ten minutes, she returned and landed to wait for her companions. *The "Four" leads the flight.* Once more the engines roared and the "Three," with her crew reduced to five men, followed in quick succession by the "Four" and the "One," each with a crew of six, rose from the water and headed out into the unknown of the ocean, for a longer nonstop flight, if success was to follow, than any airplane had ever made before. At 8.27 they were lost to sight.

Until Station 13 was reached, seven hundred miles from the start, all went well. After that station ship the NC-3 sighted no more destroyers, and though she made an attempt to pick up the course again by standing back and forth at angles to it this was without avail. Difficul- *Clouds, fog, rain, contrary winds.*

*Necessary
to land on
the sea.*

ties of the NC-3, due to clouds, fog, rain, contrary winds, and ignorance of exact position, increased from then until, at one o'clock (meridian of Greenwich time), about fifteen hours after starting, a landing was made. Gasoline was running low, only enough remaining for about two hours of flight, and it was decided to land upon the sea, to determine, as soon as the sun came out, the exact position of the plane, which, it was felt, could not be very far from one of the islands of the Azores.

*NC-1
comes
down.*

The NC-1 sighted station ship 17, and then saw no more destroyers. Their weather experience was similar to that of the "Three," and feeling uncertain of their position, and becoming apprehensive of their gasoline supply, they landed, also by coincidence, after fifteen hours' flying.

*NC-4
sights
Flores.*

The NC-4, luckier than her sisters, though no destroyers since No. 16 had been sighted, and almost constant fog had been encountered, passed over the island of Flores, forty-five miles off her course to the southward, and knew from this where she was. She came down to about two hundred feet and, finding the fog to be clearing, and having a definite point for departure, steered for destroyer 22. This destroyer was sighted; everything was working splendidly; gasoline for two hundred miles remained, and Read started on for Ponta Delgada, his destination. Soon after, the fog closed down; destroyer 23 was not sighted; and it was de-

*Fog closes
down
again.*

cided to play safe, pick up the island of Fayal, find the harbor of Horta and land there.

At four minutes past one Fayal was sighted and a landing was made in a small bay, which in the fog was mistaken for Horta. The mistake was seen; again the *NC-4*, already holder of the world's record for a nonstop flight, took the air, rounded the next point, and through the fog saw the U. S. S. *Columbia* anchored in the harbor. Down near her they landed: out broke the Ensign of their country and the starred Union Jack. Whatever else might happen, though the Atlantic flight was not yet complete, the *NC-4* had crossed from Newfoundland, which is a part of North America, to the Azores, which are a part of Europe.

*NC-4
alights
at Horta.*

The next day, the *NC-4* flew to Ponta Delgada to tune up for the last leg of the flight across the ocean.

The *NC-1* and the *NC-3* had miscalculated the state of the sea. Fog is ordinarily a companion of calm weather and rarely does it blanket a disturbed surface. On this occasion the swells were high and considerable wind was blowing and these craft once on the water would have been unable to take the air again even had they known which way to go.

*Sea very
rough.*

After four hours and a half on the water, with the wind increasing and the waves growing in height, a small tramp steamship sighted the *NC-1* through an opening in the fog and sped down to offer assistance. This was the steamship *Ionia*. It was impossible to tow

*Tramp
sights the
NC-1*

the seaplane with the seas running, the situation of her crew would have been critical if left on board, and as a result they were transferred to the steamship. Later in the afternoon one of the destroyers, notified by wireless of the mishap to the "One," came alongside the plane and attempted to tow it into port. This attempt was fruitless and, sometime on the following day, the battered, wrecked remnants of the gallant craft broken by the sea sank or floated away. The landing had been made close to the island of Fayal, and the distance flown would have been more than sufficient to carry the *NC-1* to port, had they known where they were.

In landing, the *NC-3* had injured the hull seriously enough to cause considerable leakage and the central engine support struts were so seriously bowed as to make further flight impossible.

The weather, which had promised to clear, became darker than ever; a gale commenced to blow, and the situation was desperate. They were forty to sixty miles to the southwest of the island of Fayal and their sending wireless was not working.

At about midday on Sunday the island of Pico was sighted. It was too rough to taxi, and safety lay in drifting before the wind toward San Miguel, more than one hundred miles to the eastward.

The seaplane was slowly but surely disintegrating. A part of the tail had carried away; hull leakage had increased and required almost constant pumping and bail-

*NC-1
finally
abandoned.*

*Hull of
NC-3
leaks.*

*Wireless
receives
but fails
to send.*

*Drifting
toward
San
Miguel.*

*Hardships
of the
NC-3.*

ing; the fabric on the wings was torn to ribbons, and many of the ribs were broken. Twenty-two hours after landing, the float on the left-hand wing tip was wrenched loose, and, after this, one of the crew was kept on the other wing to prevent capsizing.

Early Monday morning San Miguel was sighted, and, partly drifting and partly taxiing, they worked in so that it was certain, unless they were overtaken by some greater misfortune, they would make the port of Ponta Delgada.

In the late afternoon, the destroyer *Harding* sighted the castaways and came full speed to offer assistance. This was declined, and, with the *Harding* as an escort, this bedraggled, disheveled wreck, with one wing pontoon gone, another wrenched off just as port was entered, the wings battered, torn, and broken, the lower portion of the tail missing, its wires hanging in loops, limped proudly into port. *Destroyer sights the castaways.*

Through stormy seas, these craft of the air had carried their crews to safety. How much of confidence in the future of trans-Atlantic flight the ability of the *NC-3* to carry to port her crew for fifty-five hours through more than two hundred and thirty miles of stormy seas has given!

Only the "Four" was left! Only the "lame duck," miraculously restored, to carry the flag across. Hawker had failed; Raynham had crashed and was out of it; no other aspirant for the aerial laurels could start for several

*Read's
flight to
Lisbon.*

weeks. Read was going to take no chances on success. On the morning of the 27th, when the weather was perfect, with nothing harsher to encounter than a gentle wind from the west to help him on his way, his ship rose and flew without mishap or important incident for seven hundred and forty-six miles to Lisbon.

*The
flight to
Plymouth
a senti-
mental
journey.*

At Lisbon the trans-Atlantic flight ended. The flight in a day or so to Plymouth, England, was a sentimental journey, undertaken because from Plymouth the Pilgrims sailed; because, equally with ourselves, the imagination of the British had been fired by the import, by the magnificence, of the classic air adventure.

[On June 14, 1919, two British aviators, Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, in a Vickers-Vimy bombing plane, took off from St. Johns, Newfoundland, for the British Isles. They came down at Clifden, Ireland, the next morning, having made the crossing in 16 hours and 12 minutes.]

THE FIRST NONSTOP FLIGHT

(A.D. 1919)

CAPTAIN JOHN ALCOCK

AT Signal Hill, Newfoundland, Lieutenant Brown *Success of*
set our course for the ocean on 124 degrees of *Alcock*
the compass. We kept that course until well on *and*
in the night. I had the engine throttled down nicely and *Brown.*
I let her do her own climbing.

At dark we were about 4,000 feet up. We found it very *Night in*
cloudy and misty. We were between layers of cloud and *the air.*
could see neither the sea nor the sky. After the first hour
we had got into these clouds, one lot 2,000 feet up and
the other 6,000 feet. It was impossible to see the sea to
get our bearings.

Drift clouds above obscured the sun, and when the
night came we could see neither stars nor moon, so we
flew on our original course until we struck a patch about
3 a. m. where we could see a few stars.

Brown gave me a new course of 110 degrees compass
points, and we went on steadily until the weather started
to get very thick again. About 4 a. m. or 5 a. m. we

could see nothing. The bank of fog was extremely thick, and we began to have a very rough time.

Speed indicator jams.

The air speed indicator jammed. It stood at 90, and I knew not exactly what I was doing. It jammed through the sleet freezing in it, and it smelt smoky.

Sense of horizon lost.

We did some comic stunts then. I believe we looped the loop and by accident we did a steep spiral. It was very alarming. We had no sense of the horizon. We came down quickly from 4,000 feet until we saw water very clearly. That gave me my horizon again and I was all right. That period only lasted a few seconds, but it seemed ages.

It came to an end when we were within fifty feet of the water, with the machine practically on its back.

The air speed indicator again began to work as a result of the swift dive.

We climbed after that and got on fairly well until we got to 6,000 feet, and the fog was there again. We climbed twice on top of it, only to find banks of clouds. We went higher and saw the moon and one or two stars. We "carried on" until dawn.

Hail and snow.

We never saw the sun rise. There was a bank of fog also on top of the lower cloud. We climbed up to 11,000 feet. It was hailing and snowing. The machine was covered with ice. That was about 6 o'clock in the morning, and it remained like that until the hour before we landed.

My radiator shutter and water temperature indicator

were covered with ice for four or five hours. Lieutenant Brown had continually climbed up to chip off the ice with a knife.

The speed indicator was full of frozen particles and gave trouble again. They came out when we got lower an hour before we landed. We came down and flew over the sea at 300 feet. It was still cloudy, but we could see the sun as it tried to break through.

Frozen speed indicator gives more trouble.

It was a terrible trip. We never saw a boat, and we got no wireless messages at all. We flew along the water and we had doubts as to our position, although we believed we were "there or thereabouts." We looked out for land, expecting to find it any time.

We saw land about 9.15 a. m. when we suddenly discovered the coast. It was great to do that. We saw two little islands, which must have been East-Sal and Turbot Islands. We came along and got to Ardbear Bay, an inlet of Clifden Bay, and when we saw the wireless mast we knew where we were exactly.

Land sighted.

When still over Clifden village I saw after a few minutes what I took to be a nice field—a lovely meadow. We came down and made a perfect landing, but it was a bog. The wheels sank axle deep in the field. The Vimy toppled over on her nose.

Landing in a bog.

The lower plane is badly damaged and broken and both propellers are deeply sunk in the bog, but I think they are not broken. The engines are all right.

*Treaty of
Peace is
signed.*

*Treaty of
Versailles
submitted
to Senate.*

[On June 22, German men and officers sink the vessels interned at Scapa Flow. On June 25, General von Hindenburg resigns as commander in chief of the German armies. On June 28, the Treaty of Peace is signed by the German, Allied, and Associated Delegates, thus ending the World War. On July 1, the war-time prohibition act goes into effect in the United States. July 3, Secretary of War Baker orders the army reduced to peace strength. On July 6, the British dirigible *R-34* reaches Roosevelt Field at Mineola, L. I. July 9, President Egbert of Germany signs a bill ratifying the Treaty. On July 10, President Wilson submits the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate, where it meets with immediate opposition. On July 14, Paris celebrates Bastille Day with a Victory Parade, American troops leading the march under the Arc de Triomphe. On Sept. 10, the treaty with Austria is signed at St. Germain. On Sept. 13, Fiume is taken for Italy by d'Annunzio. On Sept. 19, text of Peace Treaty is handed to Bulgaria. On September 26, President Wilson's tour is stopped by his illness. The treaty with Germany is ratified by Italy on October 7; by the British Empire on October 10; and by France on October 11. On October 25, the Austrian Republic ratifies the treaty presented to them. On November 19, the Senate votes against the treaty with the reservations presented; it also votes against the treaty without reservations. On November 27, the treaty with Bulgaria is signed at Neuilly; Poland is awarded a mandate over Galicia for

twenty-five years. On December 22, the Irish Home Rule Bill is presented in the House of Commons.

February 11, 1920, the first business session of the Council of the League of Nations opens in London. On March 19, the Versailles Peace Treaty is defeated in the United States Senate. March 19, the Lord Mayor of Cork, Ireland, is assassinated. April 6, French troops occupy cities of the Ruhr district. April 25, Palestine and Mesopotamia become British mandates by order of the Supreme Council. May 15, the U. S. Senate passes the peace resolution. May 28, Czecho-Slovakia elects Professor Masaryk President. June 12, the Republican National Convention at Chicago nominates Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio for President and Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for Vice President. July 5, the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco nominates Governor James M. Cox of Ohio for President; and Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for Vice President. September 5, General Alvaro Obregon is elected President of Mexico. November 2, Warren G. Harding (Republican) is elected President of the United States. November 10, Yugoslavia and Italy agree on boundary.

*Treaty
defeated
in United
States
Senate.*

*Harding
elected.*

December 13, the Assembly of the League of Nations plans a permanent Court of International Justice. December 21, Italians bombard Fiume, held by forces of D'Annunzio. March 4, 1921, Warren G. Harding becomes President of the United States. April 12, President


*Burial
of the
Unknown
Soldier.*

*Conference
on Naval
Armament.*

Harding, in his message to Congress, rejects the League of Nations, but asks a resolution of peace. October 15, General Wood becomes Governor General of the Philippines. On November 11, the burial of America's Unknown Soldier takes place at Arlington with an impressive ceremony in the Amphitheater, before 100,000 people. Amplifiers make it possible for all the company to hear and for President Harding's voice to be transmitted over the wires to other cities, so that it is heard even in San Francisco on the Pacific. On November 12, the Conference on Naval Armament opens at Washington with delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, China, and Portugal. On November 29, Governor General Wood's report on the Philippines is issued. He opposes independence.]

THE IRISH FREE STATE

(A.D. 1921-1922)

N December 6, 1921, at No. 10 Downing Street, London, England, the members of the British Cabinet and the delegates from the Irish Dail Eireann signed a treaty, which seems to promise a new era for Ireland and England, after nearly eight centuries of hostility. The British Parliament, called to discuss the new treaty, met on December 14, ratified the agreement, and adjourned on December 19. The Dail Eireann also met on December 14, but were unable to come to an agreement on the treaty until January 7, 1922. The terms of the English-Irish treaty are given herewith. An annex covered the status of harbor defenses, submarine cables, and radio of Ireland and air communication between Ireland and England.

Article I.—Ireland shall have the same constitutional *Status of a*
status in the community of nations known as the British *Dominion.*
Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having

powers to make laws for peace and order and good government in Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

*Relations
to Crown
like those
of Canada.*

Article II.—Subject to provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State, in relation to the Imperial Parliament, the Government and otherwise, shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or representative of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

Article III.—A representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in making such appointments.

*Oath for
Members
of Parlia-
ment.*

Article IV.—The oath to be taken by the members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form:

“I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V., and his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

*The public
debt.*

Article V.—The Irish Free State shall assume liability for service of the public debt of the United Kingdom as

existing at the date thereof and toward the payment of war pensions as existing on that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard for any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined, in default of agreement, by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

Article VI.—Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defense, defense by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's imperial forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the revenue or the fisheries. The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defense. *Coastal defense.*

Article VII.—The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's imperial force (a) in time of peace such harbor and other facilities as are indicated in the annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State, and (b) in time of war or of strained relations with a foreign power such harbor and other facilities as the British Govern- *Harbor facilities in peace and war.*

ment may require for the purposes of such defense, as aforesaid.

*Military
defense
force.*

Article VIII.—With a view to securing observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defense force, the establishment thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

Article IX.—The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on the payment of the customary port and other dues.

Article X, promises compensation, to judges, officials, police, etc., retired by change in government.

Articles XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XV, have to do with relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State and provide for conferences on boundaries, etc.

*No state
religion.*

Article XVI.—Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on the account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction of the school, or make any discrimination

as respects State aid between schools under the management of the different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

Article XVII.—By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and a Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of the members of Parliament elected for the constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland act in 1920 and for constituting a Provisional Government. And the British Government shall take steps necessary to transfer to such Provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such Provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

*Provisional
government.*

*Acceptance of
treaty.*

Article XVIII.—This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and, if approved, it shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

*Method
of ratification.*

*British
signa-
tures.*

Signed on behalf of the British delegation:

LLOYD GEORGE
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN
BIRKENHEAD
WINSTON CHURCHILL
WORTHINGTON-EVANS
GORDON HEWART
HAMAR GREENWOOD

*Irish
signa-
tures.*

On behalf of the Irish delegation:

ART OF GRIOBHTA (Arthur Griffith)
MICHAEL O. O. SILEAN (Michael Collins)
RÍOBAGD BARTUN (Robert C. Barton)
E. S. DUGAN (Eamon J. Duggan)
SEORSA GHABGAIN UÍ DHUBHTHAIGH
(George Gavan Duffy)

Dated the 6th of December, 1921.

A SUMMARY OF THE FIVE-POWER TREATY ON NAVAL ARMAMENT

(A.D. 1922)

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, desiring to contribute to the maintenance of the general peace and to reduce the burdens of competition in armament, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE LIMITATIONS OF NAVAL ARMAMENT

Article 1.—Naval armament shall be limited as provided in the present treaty.

Article 2.—Capital ships specified are to be retained; other ships belonging to the United States, the British Empire, and Japan are to be disposed of as provided in Chapter II, Part 2. The United States may complete two ships of the West Virginia class, and the British Empire may complete two capital ships not exceeding 35,000 tons each.

Article 3.—The capital ship building programs are to be abandoned, except replacements, as specified in Chapter II, Part 3.

*Replacement
tonnage.*

Article 4.—Capital ship replacement tonnage shall not exceed—for the United States, 525,000 tons; for the British Empire, 525,000 tons; France, 175,000 tons; Italy, 175,000 tons; Japan, 315,000 tons.

Article 5.—No battleship exceeding 35,000 tons to be acquired or constructed by any of the contracting powers.

Article 6.—Caliber of naval guns shall not exceed 16 inches.

*Aircraft
carrier
tonnage.*

Article 7.—Tonnage of aircraft carriers, not more than—for the United States, 135,000 tons; for the British Empire, 135,000 tons; France, 60,000 tons; Italy, 60,000 tons; Japan, 81,000 tons.

Article 8.—Replacement of aircraft carriers shall be as prescribed in Chapter II, Part III, and in Article 7.

Article 9.—No aircraft carrier shall exceed 27,000 tons, except two aircraft carriers each of a tonnage not to exceed 32,000 tons, by a contracting power whose total tonnage is not thereby exceeded. No carrier shall have more than eight guns (if any exceed 6 inches), except anti-aircraft guns of less than 5-inch caliber.

*Size of
aircraft
carriers.*

Article 10.—No aircraft carrier shall have a gun exceeding 8 inches caliber, and if any guns exceed 6 inches caliber, the total number of more than 5 inches caliber shall not exceed 10.

Article 11.—The contracting powers shall not acquire vessels of war exceeding 10,000 tons, except capital ships and aircraft carriers.

Article 12.—Only capital ships may carry guns of more than 8 inches caliber. *Guns that may be carried.*

Article 13.—Except for providing aircraft carriers, no vessel scrapped shall be converted into a ship of war.

Article 14.—Except for stiffening decks for 6-inch guns, no merchant ships shall be prepared in peace for armaments.

Article 15.—No contracting power shall construct for a noncontracting power a vessel exceeding these limitations, except that an aircraft carrier may be 27,000 tons. *Work for non-contracting powers.*

Article 16.—If one of the contracting powers undertakes to construct a vessel of war for a noncontracting power, the contracting power shall inform the others of dates and particulars.

Article 17.—A contracting power shall not use in war a vessel under construction for another power.

Article 18.—A contracting power will not transfer a vessel of war to another power. *War vessels not to be transferred.*

Article 19.—The United States, the British Empire, and Japan will maintain the status quo in regard to naval bases and fortifications in the Pacific, with exceptions concerning coast of mainland and home possessions.

Article 20.—Rules for determining tonnage shall be as in Chapter II, Part 4.

CHAPTER II

RULES RELATING TO THE EXECUTION OF THE TREATY—
DEFINITION OF TERMS

PART 1

Contains a list of the ships to be retained by each of the contracting powers.

PART 2

RULES FOR SCRAPPING VESSELS OF WAR

*Rules for
scrapping a
war vessel.*

The following rules shall be observed for scrapping vessels of war:

I.—The vessel must be made unfit for combatant use.

II.—The result may be effected as follows (a) permanent sinking; (b) breaking up; (c) exclusive target use, but not more than one capital ship at a time shall be retained for this purpose; (d) France and Italy may each retain two vessels of types specified (*Jean Bart* class for France; one of *Dante Alighieri* class and one of *Guilio Cesare* class for Italy) for training purposes exclusively.

*Must be
made unfit
for use.*

III.—(a) When a vessel is to be scrapped, steps shall be taken to render it immediately unfit for service. (b) A vessel shall be considered unfit for service when there shall have been destroyed or removed: (1) All guns, essential parts of guns, fire-control tops, and revolving

parts of brabettes and turrets; (2) all machinery for working hydraulic or electric mountains; (3) all fire-control instruments and range finders; (4) all ammunition, explosives, and mines; (5) all torpedoes, warheads, and torpedo tubes; (6) all wireless telegraphy installations; (7) conning tower and all side armor, or alternatively all main propelling machinery; (8) landing and fly-off platforms and other aviation accessories.

Machinery to be removed or destroyed.

IV.—Vessels mentioned in Article 2 shall be made unfit for service in six months from coming into force of treaty, and scrapping shall be complete in eighteen months.

PART 3

SECTION I

RULES FOR REPLACEMENT

Replacements of capital ships and aircraft carriers may be made twenty years after date of completion, subject to certain regulations. The other contracting powers must be notified of names, dates, displacements, dimensions, etc. Capital ships accidentally lost may be replaced in limits conforming to this treaty. Reconstruction of capital ships retained is not allowed, except for defense against aircraft and submarines, which may be done within limitations given. The British Empire may complete alterations begun on the *Renown*.

How ships may be replaced.

SECTION II

This section gives a list of the capital ships to be retained by each of the powers when scrapping is complete. Tonnage for the United States, 525,350 tons; for the British Empire, 553,350 tons; for Japan, 301,320 tons; for France, 221,170 tons; for Italy, 182,100 tons. When ships permitted to be completed are done, older ships are to be scrapped to keep tonnage for each power in conformity with the treaty.

PART 4

DEFINITIONS

Meaning of
terms used.

A capital ship is a vessel of war, exceeding 10,000 tons displacement, or carrying a gun of more than 8 inches caliber.

An aircraft carrier is a vessel of war, exceeding 10,000 tons displacement, designed so that aircraft can be carried, launched, and landed. Armament as specified in Articles 9 and 10.

Standard displacement means displacement complete when armed, manned and equipped.

A ton means 2,240 pounds, or 1,016 kilos.

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Request
for
conference.

Article 21.—A power whose national security requires changes in these terms will request a conference of the

contracting powers. After eight years, the United States will arrange for a conference to meet new technical and scientific developments.

Article 22.—If a contracting power shall become involved in a war which affects naval defense, these obligations may be suspended by the other contracting powers after notification and consultation. *Course if involved in war.*

Article 23.—This treaty shall remain in force until December 31, 1936; if no contracting power has given a two years' notice of intention to terminate the treaty, it shall continue in force for two years after December 31, 1936. If a contracting power gives such notice, the contracting powers shall meet in conference within a year. *Time treaty shall be in force.*

Article 24.—This treaty shall be ratified by each country in accordance with its constitutional methods. *How ratified.*

[On December 10, 1921, draft of Four-Power Treaty (United States, Great Britain, France and Japan) for non-aggression and mutual protection in the Pacific is announced. December 11, the United States and Japan agree on the status of the Island of Yap. December 15, United States, Great Britain and Japan decided on naval ratio. January 4, 1922, Eamon de Valera, known as "President of the Irish Republic," denounces the treaty with Great Britain. January 5, Deaths in the Russian famine area are said to be more than 5,000,000. January 16, Mexico decides that Article 27 (concerning property

rights of foreigners) is not retroactive. January 22, Pope Benedict XV. dies from pneumonia. February 6, Cardinal Achille Ratti is elected Pope and takes the title of Pius XI. February 9, the British in India arrest Gandhi, leader of the non-co-operative rebellion. February 28, British protectorate over Egypt ends. March 23, Allies arrange an armistice between Greek and Turkish forces. March 30, the United States Senate completes the ratification of treaties from the Washington Conference. March 31, King George V. signs the Irish Free State Treaty. April 1, Charles, former Emperor of Austria-Hungary, dies. April 9, Japanese begin to evacuate Shantung. April 10, International conference at Genoa opens. April 28, Serious fighting is in progress between armies of North and South China. May 1, Economic union of Belgium and Luxemburg goes into effect. May 12, Court of International Justice is thrown open to the world. May 15, Tacna-Arica conference between Chile and Peru opens at Washington. May 19, Genoa conference adjourns to meet again at The Hague on June 15. June 15, the International Conference at The Hague opens. June 16, Election of members for the Irish Free State Parliament is held. Draft of a constitution for the Irish Free State modeled on that of Canada is made public. June 17, Mexico comes to an agreement with the International Bankers' Committee about the Mexican debt. Mexico will begin paying interest after January 2, 1923.

*Benedict
XV dies.*

*Genoa
conference
adjourns.*

June 16, 1922, Canton, capital of South China Government, is taken by forces under General Chen Chiung Ming. June 22, Field Marshal Sir Henry H. Wilson is assassinated in London by two Irish sympathizers. June 24, Walter Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister, is assassinated in Berlin. June 30, Rory O'Connor and Irish Republican soldiers, after being besieged by regular troops in the "Four Courts," Dublin, surrender as the building burns. July 21, it is agreed between Chile and Peru that the Tacna-Arica boundary shall be arbitrated by President Harding. July 29, as agreed, Japan begins withdrawing troops from Siberia. August 4, Fascisti take possession of the City Hall in Milan, Italy. August 6, Fascisti are successful in a fight in Genoa. August 7, a Conference on Reparations and War Debts begins sessions in London. August 12, Arthur Griffith, Irish leader and President of the Dail Eireann, dies at Dublin. August 14, the Allied Council on German Reparations adjourns without reaching definite decisions. August 31, it is announced that the Reparations Commission will not insist on cash payments from Germany in 1922. The moratorium requested is not granted. September 9, William T. Cosgrave is elected President of the Irish Provisional Parliament. September 27, Constantine, King of Greece, abdicates, and his son George takes the throne. September 30, Turkish troops leave British in control at the Dardanelles. October 3, Turks, Greeks and Allies meet at Mudania to discuss peace. October 10, an armistice is

Assassination of Sir Henry H. Wilson.

Tacna-Arica boundary.

Death of Arthur Griffith

*Mussolini,
Fascist
leader,
becomes
Premier.*

signed at Mudania. October 25, Bonar Law becomes British Prime Minister. October 29, Benito Mussolini, Italian Fascist leader, becomes Premier. November 5, William Hohenzollern, former German Emperor, marries Princess Herminie of Reuss at Doorn. Turkish Nationalists take control at Constantinople. November 17, Mohammed VI., Sultan of Turkey, is deposed. He flees on a British warship. November 18, Georges Clemenceau, former French Premier, is welcomed in New York. November 20, Turkish Peace Conference opens at Lausanne, Switzerland. December 5, King George signs Irish Constitution. December 8, Rory O'Connor is executed. December 9, Conference on Reparations opens in London. December 16, Gabriel Narutowicz, Polish President, is killed at Warsaw.

*The Irish
Constitu-
tion is
signed.*

*Council
of Premiers.*

January 1, 1923, the Council of Premiers at Paris discusses Reparations. January 8, British and American Debt Funding Commissions open sessions at Washington. January 10, in India, many natives are sentenced to death because of riots connected with the Non-Cooperationist movement. January 11, French and Belgians occupy Ruhr, and the occupation is proclaimed at Essen, Germany. Germany protests to the other Allies.

January 12, German coal deliveries cease. Clashes between French and Germans occur on following days. January 19, French military control of German State banks, mines and forests in Ruhr district begins. February 4, Turks refuse to sign treaty at Lausanne. February

16, Memel is assigned to Lithuania. March 14, Japan refuses to abrogate the 1915 treaty with China containing the "21 demands." Vilna, already occupied by Poland, is assigned to Poland. March 21, Secretary of State Hughes announces that Soviet Russia must acknowledge foreign debts and return alien property before recognition by United States. May 2, Germany proposes to the Allies that reparations be 30,000,000,000 gold marks. France refuses. June 20, President Harding leaves Washington on a tour that will take him to Alaska. July 20, Villa, Mexican bandit who once raided Columbus, N. Mex., is assassinated. July 23, the Philippine Legislature demands General Wood's recall.]


*Memel is
assigned to
Lithuania.*

*President
Harding's
tour.*

THE NEAR EAST AFTER LAUSANNE

(A.D. 1923)

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

N July 24, 1923, the Western Powers and the Ottoman Turks signed the long expected and long-delayed Treaty of Lausanne, and the last relics of the World War were officially liquidated. It is worth while to see where the Balkan and Levantine peoples now stand after conditions of hostility which for them have continued almost unbroken since 1912.

*Treaty of
Lausanne
is signed.*

When Turkey entered the World War in November, 1914, the London Times voiced the united opinion of pre-Entente circles: "Turkey has pronounced her own doom. Soon the Ottoman race will be relegated to the obscure valleys of Asia Minor." In January, 1917, the allied Governments officially assured the United States that one of their chief war aims was "the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the

*Allied
opinion
during the
war.*

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Turks and the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Turks decidedly alien to Western civilization."

*Roosevelt's
opinion.*

The United States for reasons still obscure did not declare war on Turkey, but the reported saying of Roosevelt that "it would be a crime against civilization to leave the Turks in Europe" undoubtedly represented the dominant American opinion. A kind of implied contract seemed to exist with France and Great Britain that if we would only see them through on the western front, Turkey would be compelled to cease forever from troubling the world. That hope has evaporated. The Ottoman still controls a pretentious State. A "New Turkey" confronts the Occidental powers as a demanding and self-confident equal. After infinite higgling a treaty has been signed which undoubtedly gives extreme mortification to many of its European negotiators, and which proclaims that Great Britain at least is so war-weary that she will put up with many grievous things for the sake of peace.

*The need
for peace.*

Is this Treaty of Lausanne a real solution of the sore troubles of the Near East, marking in the closing words of the delegates, "the definite re-establishment of peace in the world," or is it merely an imperfect truce, giving the evil forces of the Levant new chances to resume their deviltry? The answer comes best by examining the racial elements still left facing one another in the eastern Mediterranean lands in the Summer of 1923.

The revival of the Ottoman State after its abject surrender in 1918 is, of course, one of the most astonishing

*Racial
elements in
Near East.*

reversals in history. It is the direct result of a series of blunders committed by the victorious powers so astonishing as to seem almost the result of genius. The Turks were first outraged and exploited, and then were carefully taught to feel that their conquerors were war-weary, preoccupied and at strife among themselves. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that in the old Ottoman homeland at Angora, near the battlefield itself of Bayezid I. and Timur the Tartar, the leaders of the military and masterful race which had ruled the Levant for centuries, should re-erect their Crescent standard, organize a Government, and, more important still, create a powerful army. The personal genius of Mustapha Kemal contributed much. The Ottoman loves a valorous *seraskier* (high commander), and the Angora leader has lived up to the militant traditions of an empire created by three of the most efficient warriors the world has ever seen—Osman I., Mohammed II., and Solyman I. Neither was the display of national spirit which swept Kemal on to victory unprecedented in Turkish annals. For example, the popular movements which brought in the great Kiuprili Viziers in 1656, which forced the Porte to defy Russia in 1853 and 1875, and 1909 deposed Abdul Hamid "the Damned" have shown in the past what the Ottoman people could do when Giaours ("Hell-doomed Infidels") seemed trampling upon the faithful.

*Blunders
of the
Allies.*

*Militant
traditions
of the
Turks.*

*Earlier
popular
move-
ments.*

Since the "turn of the tide," when the Turks fled from

*Dwindling
of Ottoman
Empire.*

before Vienna in 1683, their empire has dwindled to a mere fraction of its once sprawling bulk. While the loss long ago, say, of Hungary, was grievous to the Sultans and their Pashas, it did not arouse the peasants of Phrygia or the easy-going mosque ministers of Brusa. The Christian populations of the lost provinces, of course, rejoiced in the change. But in 1919 the Turks were invaded in their very homelands of Anatolia. All the outlying regions seemed gone. The Giaours were despoiling lands where the bulk of the populations, despite the "minorities," was devoutly Moslem. Anatolia was the last great territory of the Ottoman Nation. The Turks were roused to further fury by the intervention of the Greeks. Venizelos threw for very high stakes in 1919-20, and for a while the success of Greece was by no means impossible. Perhaps it was only the death of King Alexander that prevented Athens from becoming the capital of a real Levantine Empire. Nevertheless, the Western statesmen took a great and an evil risk when they invited the Greeks, a small and rather unmilitary nation, to act as gendarmes in Anatolia where they refused to intervene efficiently themselves.

*Interven-
tion of the
Greeks.*

*Hatred
between
Hellene
and
Ottoman.*

Between Hellene and Ottoman there was all the hatred between Belfast and Dublin with Levantine specialties added. The Turks despised the Greeks as slippery, misbelieving traders and as successfully rebellious *rayahs* (serfs). The Greeks had been brought up on such stories as the massacre of Chios (1822), the ravaging of the

Morea by Ibrahim Pasha (1827), and countless later tales of Moslem tender mercies. The most righteous litigant should not be made sheriff to collect his own debt. Irrespective of the evidence, it was in advance probable that the Greek soldiery would mete out long accumulated arrears of vengeance upon the Turkish Anatolian villages. Two wrongs never make one right. The Ottomans were inevitably driven to fury. In 1921 the Greek advance on Angora failed. In 1922 the Greeks were flung out of Asia Minor. The ruins of Christian Smyrna ("Infidel Smyrna" the Turks angrily used to call it) have recently ceased smoking. Without stating details, I believe firmly that the Turkish plea of "not guilty" for the fate of Smyrna will hardly stand at the judgment bar of history. Besides the disinterested American evidence, the standardized usages of Ottoman armies in dealing with captured cities have to be taken into full account. About 1,500,000 Greeks have been reported as expelled from Asia and Thrace into the Greek kingdom in exchange for some 300,000 Turks. Between one and two millions of Armenians have "disappeared." In 1919-22 the Western powers failed to award the Ottomans that firm "justice" which the Oriental recognizes and submits to in good faith: they merely threatened them with a crude exploitation. The Ottomans therefore solved the problem in their accustomed way. Using the indignant words of old Tacitus, once again the Turks "have made a solitude and called it peace."

*Defeat of
the Greeks.*

*People
expelled
from
Turkey.*

The ink has just dried on the State papers signed at Lausanne. Are the old racial feuds healed? What international rivalries are left smoldering? How far can the "New Turkey" avoid the old miseries of the "Sick Man of Europe?" What, in short, is the general situation in the three most interested Christian kingdoms and in Turkey itself?

*Situation in
Yugoslavia*

Taking Yugoslavia first, we find that the expanded kingdom of old Serbia ought to be what Bismarck called a territorially "satiated State." The 11,500,000 inhabitants of this new country include nearly 1,500,000 very uneasy Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, and Albanians. M. Pashitch, the very astute Premier, is being taxed to hold the loyalty even of the South Slavic Croats. If Yugoslavia is wise, she will for many years concentrate upon the problem of internal consolidation. Italy is a formidable and a very jealous neighbor. Yugoslavia, however, is fortunately a self-contained agricultural nation. The economic situation seems relatively good. The national boundaries do not touch Turkey directly. If there is a new war in the Levant it will probably not begin now in the kingdom which includes fateful Serajevo.

*Yugoslavia
self-con-
tained.*

*Bulgaria
fairly pros-
perous.*

Bulgaria is much smaller now than her South Slav neighbor, and is defeated and unhappy. But Bulgaria is also a nation of thrifty small farmers and is fairly well off economically. There are some 40,000 Mohammedans, but they seem on tolerably good terms with the Christian majority. The recovery of the Bulgarian-speaking part of

the Macedonians from Greece or Yugoslavia must wait the chances of another general war, but a more immediate need is an outlet upon the Aegean. By a Themistoclean trick at Lausanne, Venizelos conceded his Turkish foes the port of Dedeagatch and its railroad, a harbor of little value to Greece but the logical door on the Aegean for Bulgaria. The possibilities of lining up the Bulgarian and the Ottoman in the "next war" have thus been incalculably increased. The recent revolution directed against the Stambulisky régime indicates, however, that Bulgaria is likely to be involved for the present in her own internal sorrows. The existing boundaries very probably will last for some time.

Possibilities for the next war.

Let us now turn to Greece. A year ago the Athens politicians dreamed of ruling over Anatolia from re-deemed Constantinople. That dream has ended in tragedy. Eastern Thrace is lost. The nation is war-weary, economically demoralized and sadly disillusioned. It will take a decade for Greece to recover from King Constantine's policy of adventure and, toward its end, of crass foolishness. But Greece is not broken. She is infinitely stronger than that pitiful little kingdom of brigands and corsairs that was set up in 1830. The population of 4,800,000 is now reasonably homogeneous, although there are enough Albanians in Epirus and "Bulgarophones" (a euphemism for Bulgarians who ungraciously refuse to be Hellenized) in Macedonia to create a heavy problem. Far worse is the disheartening

Dream of Greece ended.

Population reasonably homogeneous.

task of providing for over a million refugees from Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Yet there seem to be clear signs that the country is recovering and facing the future. Greek commerce and shipping are rich assets. The country cannot be conquered beyond a certain point by an enemy bereft of seapower and the Greek fleet is the only real navy in the Levant. With all their faults, the results of 2,000 years under Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman despotism, and disheartening displays of barbarism, as just now in the Epirus, the Greeks can on the whole claim to be the most advanced nation in the Near East. Their free economic contacts with the West will probably make that claim grow stronger. The war, however, leaves Greece in a most unrestful position. A great opportunity for a real empire was almost grasped. Instead of that, a horde of refugees has been dumped upon her shores with an unforgettable story of defeat, expulsion and massacre. Just as the Turkish possession of Crete embittered Ottoman-Hellenic relations for over fifty years, until the Crescent left the "Great Greek Island" in 1912, so the renewed bondage of Smyrna will inflame for decades a very deep wound. And behind Smyrna is still the unquenchable hope of seeing the Cross again raised above the dome of Sancta Sophia. Greece has sought peace eagerly at Lausanne, for the nation is today spent and weary, but she seems no more contented really with the present settlement than was exhausted France in 1871. A new Alsace-Lorraine problem seems to have

*Greece
most ad-
vanced
nation in
Near East.*

*A new
Alsace-
Lorraine.*

been deliberately created with religious hatred added. The treaty will probably last until Greece can recuperate. After that let the diplomats watch out. The "New Turkey" faces the world handicapped by the standing hatred of her nearest neighbor.

The present Ottoman dominions at least contain few districts or vilayets wherein the Moslems (Turks or Kurds) have not for long formed a majority. The Armenians to their undoing have never occupied any large districts wherein, if put in power, a Christian minority would not have ruled a great number of non-Christians and Talaat Pasha and his successors labored not ineffectively to "arrange" the Armenian problem so that, as he cheerfully put it, "no Armenian could utter the word autonomy for at least fifty years." Some 300,000 Greeks also seem to have been "removed" prior to the deportations. The Armenian and Greek villages lie desolate or are possessed by Moslems, reaping where the slain or banished long have sown. Nevertheless, there is still an alien problem to vex the Angora rulers. The huge "Pharnariot" (local Greek) colony at Constantinople could not be uprooted. Its economic importance is indispensable. Peace-time tolerance and the ever-efficient bribery (the eternal mitigant to many forms of Oriental tyranny) will probably bring back very many Armenian craftsmen and merchants to the Anatolian cities. More dangerous still to the Angora modernizers are the 2,000,000 Kurds in the Cappadocian mountains.

*Armenian
problem.*

*Greeks at
Constanti-
nople.*

*Kurds
of Cappa-
docia.*

They are indeed, Moslems, but untamed highlanders and usually as violently hostile to "Turkification" as were the Sultan's ex-subjects, the Albanians. The Albanians were lost to the empire largely because of tactless "reform" edicts from Constantinople. The Kurds, the race of the mighty Saladin, will hardly prove more submissive to innovating orders from Angora. The "New Turkey" also faces the small Soviet Republic of Armenia with an area of 15,000 square miles and a population of 1,200,000 directed from Moscow, but with a good deal of local autonomy exercised from Erivan. This humble State constitutes a possible Savoy for an Armenia Irredenta. Around it, Armenian hopes and intrigues can cluster, and when the Muscovite resumes (and resume he will) his long inevitable march toward "Tsargrad" (Constantinople), Russian Armenia constitutes an excellent approach, moral and military, for the invasion of Anatolia.

There remains to the rulers of the "New Turkey" an assured Ottoman population of about 10,000,000 in Anatolia, Stamboul and Thrace. Upon these the Kemalists (to quote a recent Angora decree) will "concentrate their efforts to develop the Turkish homelands according to the standards of modern civilization." Mustapha Kemal has good officers but still better press agents. According to them Turkey has become overnight almost a Westernized country, with free parliamentarism substituted for the Grand Vizier, Chief Eunuch and the Five Black

*Soviet
Armenia.*

*Anatolia,
Stamboul
and
Thrace.*

*Stories of
a New
Turkey.*

Mutes, and with the women rejoicing in all the liberties of their American sisters. In short, we are to believe that Angora and Stamboll are becoming new editions of New York or Paris, with merely local variations. Is this conceivable? How far has Western liberalism superseded the mandates of the Koran or the ordinances of Solyman the Lawgiver? Can the New Turkey prove an exception to what Herbert Spencer has stated as an eternal truth, that the fundamental nature of a social structure can never be changed by an abrupt revolution?

First of all, who are actually the Turks? What is their political promise as a race? Biologically they are the same today as yesterday: the Koran they can repudiate, but not their blood heritage. The Turks are descendants of Turanian nomads who in the eleventh and succeeding centuries overran Anatolia, blotting out the old Graeco-Byzantine civilization. The original "Seljuk" Turks appeared in the eleventh century, their kinsmen and successors, the "Osmanli" ("Ottoman") Turks in the thirteenth and fourteenth. In the fourteenth century they spread into Europe. Their original culture was that of the Mongol and Tartar hordes with their far-conquering Grand Khans. Attila's Huns were probably not alien to them in race, language, barbarous social habits and enormous genius for war. Thanks to forced conversion, female slavery, the immediate gains from embracing Islam and other circumstances, these invaders from the Asian steppes were largely diluted by survivors of the

*Heritage
of the
Turks.*

*Not alien
to Attila's
Huns.*

*Excelling
in war
only.*

older Anatolian population. Still more certain, however, it is that from first to last the Ottoman nation and its rulers have shown themselves true heirs to the spirit of Inner Asia, the Asia of Genghiz Khan and Hulagu. Like all Turanians, they have excelled as warriors and as nothing else.

*Cultural
develop-
ment
inferior.*

Long existence as a "master race" has given the Turks delightful manners to equals, a non-Levantine commercial inefficiency and honesty, a love of sensuous luxuries, and a certain reverence for traditional learning. But the Turk's religion comes from Arabia, his literature and science from Syria and Persia, his art and architecture from the Byzantines and the Saracens. The Sultans have usually had to employ infidel architects for the very mosques and palaces besides the Bosphorus. In short, the cultural development of the Turks has been very much less than that of their fellow-Moslems, the Arabs, Egyptians and Persians. At Versailles in 1919 the Council of Ten summed up correctly a long, sorrowful history: "There has no case been found either in Europe or Asia or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule has not been followed by a diminution of material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture. . . . Nowhere has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered." Nothing has occurred since 1919 to make this statement untrue. So far as the Ottomans are not Turanians but old-line Anatolians, they come again of races never the leaders in civilization. The greatest Ana-

*The Turk
destroys.*

tolian figure before the Sultans was perhaps Mithridates Eupator (120—63 B. C.) the bitter foe of Rome, a potentate famous for his harem, his poisons and his cruelties.

The new treaty is the direct product of the fact, that, as ex-Ambassador Morgenthau has very recently put it, "the Turk was the only man at Lausanne who was ready to use his guns." Great Britain has submitted, none too gloriously, quite manifestly to avoid a new war. The latest arrangement shows every whit as many signs of infirmity as the oft-berated Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which gave barely seven years of nominal peace to the Near East ere its boundaries began to be "retraced in blood."

The Turks have been rehabilitated as a political and military power, strategically located and able to spread again their old feuds and animosities to the Christian and Moslem states that must be their neighbors. This is no cheerful saying, but by no legerdemain can the spirit of a nation be transformed overnight. The New Turkey, however, is in being. If it can actually give peace to the Levant and progress to its inhabitants the most skeptical observers will rejoice at their false prophecies. Nevertheless, for some years the Angora reforms must bear all the signs of a desperate attempt "to put new wine into old bottles." There is high authority, although not Moslem, for saying that the thing cannot be done.

Causes of the new treaty.

Turks' military power rehabilitated.

Can Turkey give peace to the Levant?

[July 24, a treaty of peace between Turkey on the one hand and Greece, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Rumania and

Peace with Turkey.

*Death of
President
Harding.*

*Greece
and Italy.*

*The
Turkish
Republic.*

Japan on the other, is signed at Lausanne, Switzerland. July 28, President Harding, en route for San Francisco, is taken ill. August 2, President Warren G. Harding dies of apoplexy at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco. August 3, Calvin Coolidge, Vice President under Harding, takes the oath of office as President at his father's home at Plymouth, Vermont, at 3:47 A. M. August 6, the United States and Turkey sign treaties at Lausanne, Switzerland. August 17, the Washington Arms Conference treaties being ratified, are signed at Washington by representatives of the United States, Britain, France, Japan and Italy. August 23, the Treaty of Lausanne is ratified by the Turkish National Assembly. August 27, five Italian members of the Commission on the Albanian Frontier are assassinated at Janina. Assuming Greeks responsible, Italy demands that Greece apologize, pay an indemnity and punish the guilty. August 31, an Italian warship bombards Corfu, killing 15 Greeks; then lands troops. Greece appeals to the League of Nations. September 2, Italy refuses arbitration of demands on Greece. September 3, Dr. C. D. Torriente of Cuba is elected President by the Assembly of the League of Nations. September 8, Council of Ambassadors arranges settlement of difficulties between Italy and Greece. September 10, the Irish Free State is admitted into the League of Nations. October 29, Turkish National Assembly votes for Turkish Republic with Kemal as President. November 29, Dr. Wilhelm Marx heads German cabinet. December 6,

revolt breaks out in Mexico. December 18, the King and Queen of Greece are exiled. December 27, the Senate Public Lands Committee opens an inquiry into the leasing of Teapot Dome naval oil reserves. January 14, 1924, *Reparations Commission.* International Commission on German Reparations opens with General Charles G. Dawes as Chairman. Mexican revolutionists proclaim a blockade of Tampico.]

PASSING OF LENIN

(A.D. 1924)

SAMUEL SPEWACK

A WEARY old man died in the shabby suburbs of Moscow yesterday, and a new deity was born to the world. Alive the glory of his vision was dimmed by the failure he wrought. Dead—a name—he flames blinding white in the memory of his followers. *Death of Lenin.*

Nikolai Lenin—come what may in Russia—is written god in the creed of machines, bayonets and the brotherhood of man called Communism; as other men centuries ago became gods to other creeds. *A god to Communism.*

Through the crooked streets the blood-red and black procession will pass in mourning; will pass the snow-covered minarets of decrepit churches, symbol of a creed he had outlawed; will pass tattered factories and homes sacrificed in the name of his faith; and his body placed in the rich Russian earth will mingle with the dust of hundreds of thousands his vision destroyed. But all this is of the past. *His strange funeral.*

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New Russia—the moving mass of mourners—see him only as a name, unquestioned, undoubted. They did not know the man. For two years now he has been in the vise of a devastating illness. They knew his words—now become holy.

*Few public
appear-
ances.*

He appeared in public but four times during this period, and only a select few heard him. They expected his death at any moment. During the past year he had little or no real influence, though his name was spread to every corner of the vast land. They mourn, because when a man dies—in his case it was a shadow vanishing—there must be mourning. But the name they know lives on and they have lost nothing.

The name lives on in the trim lines of red soldiers with automaton peasant eyes; the pale faces of workers with the blood-red banner; the swarm of children growing to consciousness in a strange world he evolved. Perhaps his name will not be translated into reality. But then the names of gods seldom are.

*Simple and
fanatically
honest.*

The man, Nikolai Lenin—Vladimir Ilyitsch his intimates called him—was god-like only in his simplicity, in his intense, fanatical honesty. He lived in an abstract world of his own, more removed than that of a monk. He did not know men. He did not know peoples. He too knew only names.

Life to him was a scientific pattern upon which he traced his own design in blood, and fire and famine. The world was a schoolroom globe, turned at will.

You cannot accuse him of cruelty. In his personal relationships he was the kindest of men. He was devoted to his wife, his friends and the two Kremlin kittens constantly with him in his study. But beings en masse were material for his experimental table—nothing more.

His personal relationships,

He was so confident of his vision no sacrifice was too great. Soon he ceased to think of sacrifices. They were but "developments"—incidents. He approved the red terror—scientifically he reasoned the revolution could not be successful without it. War was necessary. Famine was necessary. Not that he would not strive to avoid them—but if they came, they were inevitable.

Red terror approved,

He was gnawingly logical. Away from reality, he was invincible in a debate of words. He did not, could not know reality. His passion was the science of revolution, his avocation chess. His mind was as heavily walled as the Kremlin, and the routine of life to him was as meaningless as the swarms of crows that sweep the Moscow River and croak at the twilight in the Kremlin gardens.

The logic of his mind.

He was a bad judge of men—no better illustration than his relationship with American Communists. John Reed came to Lenin—brilliant, impulsive, an artist, but not a leader. Reed said America was ripe for revolution. Lenin deemed Reed fit for its leadership. All Lenin knew of America was that there were capitalists and workingmen; hence conflicts; hence the possibilities of revolution. Logical, scientific, and untrue. So money was

Not a judge of men.

*Propa-
ganda in
America.*

squandered on propaganda here, money needed in Russia.

Even in the early days of the revolution Lenin was a recluse. When he appeared among men he was not one of them. Always the wall of reserve, of the inexorably logical mind.

*Plans made
in advance.*

When the Bolsheviks took over the constitutional assembly Lenin slept comfortably in his chair. He was not interested in the drama. All had been planned beforehand. He was content the execution would be satisfactory.

This quality of scientific confidence made him a masterly orator, though he lisped, though he did not know the temper of his audiences, though he was incapable of verbal fire.

*A tonic
for Russia.*

He would stand upon the red-swathed platform, as I saw him two years ago, his hands in his wide pockets, bald head tilted inquiringly forward, shoulders hunched, Tartar eyes smiling sureness. He took the storm of life he did not feel and reduced it to the calm of a library. He was a tonic for Russia's jangled nerves.

Russia reached depths the modern world could not picture in 1920. Millions were dying. War after war had been fought. Chaos. Lenin evolved military communism, which contributed to the destruction. It failed. Lenin said in 1917:

*Workers
to be fed.*

"Feeding Russia is a simple task. We will take from the rich and give to the poor. Take milk from the rich and give to the children of the workers. He who does not

work shall not eat. Workers receive cards. Cards bring food."

But the system did not work. The peasants rebelled. The workers starved. So Lenin sat in his laboratory and prepared the "New Economic Policy." He twisted the schoolroom globe back several degrees, a "retreat" made necessary by certain phenomena—famine, ruin. Later he told his followers that far in the future the globe would swing forward.

The "New Economic Policy."

Had he lived, he would have moved the globe further and further back as other phenomena asserted themselves—the necessity of reviving industry, of satisfying the peasant of a peasant land.

But in April of 1922 he became ill. It was a dramatic moment. Russia had been invited to the Genoa Conference, her first official contact with the outside world. Lenin planned to go. If he had, the history of the past two years would have been changed. For what he would have undertaken in Genoa would have been approved in Moscow. As it was, internal dissension in Russia helped bring the conference to a standstill. Nothing happened.

Not able to go to Genoa.

Lenin became dangerously ill and was moved to the villa outside Moscow. He recovered sufficiently to appear in public. He took hold of affairs once more. Then again he suffered a paralytic stroke. Again he recovered; again he was well enough to rule his laboratory of 180,000,000 beings.

Lenin's long illness.

His third stroke marked the end of Lenin the man, and brought forth instead a name. Long since they have ceased to think of Lenin the man. The passing of his shadow they regret with dull pangs. But his name is written in blood and bread and the woof of a strange land; and there his name is God.

*Name
written in
blood and
bread.*

*Death of
Lenin.*

*Labor
wins in
England*

*Death of
Woodrow
Wilson.*

[January 21, 1924, Nikolai Lenin, Premier of Soviet Russia since 1917, dies at Gorky, near Moscow. January 22, James Ramsay MacDonald, Labor Party leader, becomes British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, thus heading the first Labor Government in Great Britain. January 27, Italy and Yugoslavia sign treaty giving, among other provisions, Fiume to Italy. January 28, resolution in the House of Representatives calls for resignation of Secretary of the Navy Denby, because of the transferal of the Naval Oil leases to the Department of the Interior, which leased No. 1 in California to the Doheny interests and the "Teapot Dome" Reserve in Wyoming to the Sinclair interests. February 3, Woodrow Wilson dies at Washington. February 11, Mexican Federal troops occupy Vera Cruz. February 18, Denby resigns. March 3, the Turkish National Assembly abolishes the Caliphate. March 14, Memel is again assigned to Lithuania. March 28, President Coolidge asks for the resignation of Attorney General Daugherty. April 23, the U. S. Senate passes the Soldiers' Bonus Bill. May 1, the Republic of Greece is inaugurated. May 15, Congress accepts the

Immigration Bill containing the Japanese exclusion feature. May 26, President Coolidge signs the Immigration Bill. Marx Cabinet in Germany resigns. June 6, the German Reichstag accepts the Dawes Report. June 11, President Millerand of France resigns. June 12, the Republicans nominate Calvin Coolidge for President and Charles G. Dawes for Vice-President.

*Coolidge
and Dawes
nominated.*

August 18, French begin withdrawal of troops from Ruhr. September 1, in accordance with the Agreement of London, signed August 30, the Dawes Plan takes effect. October 23, Chinese General Feng Yu Hsiang revolts against the Tsao Kun government and takes Peking. Tsao Kun flees and resigns on the 25th. November 4, Calvin Coolidge is elected President of the United States; Charles Gates Dawes, Vice-President. King George accepts resignation of Ramsay MacDonald, British Labor Premier. November 20, Major-General Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, dies from wounds received when shot in Cairo on November 19. An ultimatum from Britain to Egypt is later modified. December 27, Allies postpone evacuation of Cologne. January 15, 1925, Hans Luther becomes German Chancellor. February 26, Allenby, British High Commissioner for Egypt, resigns. February 28, Friedrich Ebert, German President, dies. March 9, President Coolidge, in deciding the Chile-Peru controversy, awards Tarata to Peru and orders a plebiscite for Tacna-Arica. March 12, Great Britain rejects the Geneva

*Coolidge
is elected.*

*First
German
President
dies.*

Protocol. Sun Yat Sen, President of South China, dies. April 14, political difficulties in Bulgaria cause attempts on the life of the king and assassination of General Georghieff. April 26, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg is elected German President. He takes office May 12. May 21, Amundsen expedition, in two seaplanes, starts from Kings Bay, Spitzbergen, for the North Pole. It returns on June 18 without reaching the Pole. September 3, dirigible *Shenandoah* is wrecked at Ava, Ohio, with 14 killed. October 5, The Locarno Conference opens. October 16, the Rhine Pact and arbitration treaties are signed at Locarno. October 23, the League of Nations intervenes to stop border war between Greece and Bulgaria. November 19, the powers agree to a treaty for putting the tariff arrangement with China into effect on January 1, 1929. November 20, Alexandra, widow of Edward VII of England, dies. November 26, Rama VI, King of Siam, dies. His brother, Prajadhipok, succeeds him. December 1, the Locarno pacts are officially signed at London, to go into effect September 18, 1926. December 2, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain is ended, and he becomes Premier. December 3, the existing boundary line between the Irish Free State and Ulster is retained. December 14, Greece agrees to pay the damages (about \$249,000) fixed by the League Council for the invasion of Bulgaria.]

*Hindenburg is
German
President.*

*Locarno
Conference
opens.*

*Alexandra
of England
dies.*

*Greece
pays damage
for
Bulgarian
invasion.*

TO THE NORTH POLE BY AIR

(A.D. 1926)

RUSSELL D. OWEN

THE ease with which the North Pole was attained this year, by the two expeditions which took to the air for the first time to reach their objectives in the Arctic basin, was startling. This year will probably be known among explorers as that in which the teeth of the Arctic were drawn. So desperate have these ventures usually been, so customary the experience of hardship and defeat, that it seemed incredible that Byrd in his airplane and Amundsen and Ellsworth in their dirigible should have accomplished their purpose so swiftly. They did in relatively a few hours what men have attempted for generations. They brought to their aid the most perfect machines for long-distance flight and beat the Arctic by leaving far beneath them its treacherous shifting ice.

*Flights
made in air-
plane and
dirigible.*

It was an amazing achievement, after hundreds of years devoted to Arctic exploration, in which only one

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man ever reached the Pole, that within one week twenty men should have flown over this baffling problematical point in two different types of flying machines. That in itself was a thrilling event. But an even greater achievement was that by this rapid method of exploration regions hitherto impenetrable were traversed and the great mirage of an Arctic continent was dispelled. There may be land in the Arctic basin, but the flight of the *Norge* through the centre of the unexplored region of 1,000,000 square miles has proved it of no great extent. In the short space of three days the mystery which has always surrounded this hitherto blank space on the map of the world was thrown away, and it was shown that behind the shimmering curtain of the ice glint there lay no lost land, but only vast stretches of ridged and desolate ice fields.

This was really the great concrete achievement of the two expeditions, unless something extremely valuable has been learned from the observation of compass variations or from the study of temperatures and winds during the flights of the *Norge* and Byrd's airplane. They were great sporting events, daring adventures into the bleak wilderness of the North, where to descend was almost certain death. Byrd saw a territory of about 10,000 square miles which had never been seen, and made sure that there was no land near the Pole, but he was prevented from exploring further by a leak in an oil tank.

The flights will go down in history largely because

*Regions
hitherto
impenetra-
ble are
traversed.*

*No land
near
North
Pole.*

of their dramatic character. Byrd himself has called the *Norge's* flight "the greatest non-stop flight ever accomplished." The sudden and spectacular take-off of Byrd down a snowy slope soon after midnight, after his earlier failure to rise from the snow with his heavy load, was only exceeded in fascination by the departure of the silvery bulk of the *Norge* into the North. She was lost for two days, and it seemed that she had met an end as mysterious as that of Andrée's balloon, and then came the quick word from Alaska that the giant fish of the air had floated over Point Barrow toward Nome, its mission successfully accomplished. The men in its crew had looked on wastes where no human foot had ever trod, had penetrated to that point so remote from civilization that it has been called "The Pole of Inaccessibility." It was the greatest feat in all the history of Arctic exploration and it had been done with the certainty and ease of a well-controlled machine.

*Greatest
feat in
all history
of Arctic
explora-
tion.*

It may be many years before airplanes or dirigibles fly over the Arctic carrying the tired business man and his family on a new and fascinating tour, but these flights have convinced both Byrd and Nobile, the pilot of the *Norge*, that an airway across the Arctic is possible and that eventually every spot of this great basin will be explored from the air. It took Peary twenty-five years to reach his objective, and months to return to civilization with his story. It took Byrd about sixteen hours to wing his way to the Pole and back, and forty-six hours for

*Difficulties
faced in
preparation
for flights.*

Nobile to pilot his great ship through the unknown area to Alaska. Such rapid success has never been known in the North. The complete success of the two expeditions was all the more remarkable because of the great difficulties overcome in preparation for the flights.

The *Norge* was purchased from the Italian Government by the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition for \$75,000 and outfitted in Rome especially for Arctic work. So difficult was the problem of flying the airship to Spitzbergen that the original plan was to dismantle it, place it on a ship and take it to Kings Bay for assembly. This was vetoed because of the difficulty of assembling the airship between the time the ice opened at Spitzbergen sufficiently for a ship to get through and the time when the fogs in early June would have made navigation almost impossible over the Polar sea. So the ship was flown to Spitzbergen, a feat equal to the trip over the Polar basin.

*Norge
bucks high
winds from
Leningrad
to Vadsø.*

The *Norge* left Rome on April 10 and flew the first stage of her journey to Pulham, England. From Pulham she flew to Oslo, Norway, and from there to Gatchina, near Leningrad, where she remained until the big hangar and mooring mast at Kings Bay were fitted with the necessary auxiliary apparatus to receive her. She left Leningrad on May 5 and had one of the most difficult and dangerous stages of her entire trip, for she bucked a high wind all the way to Vadsø, hardly advancing at all for long periods of time and pitching with consider-

able violence as she fought her way into the teeth of the gale. After a few hours at Vadsoe the weary crew went aboard again and made the final stage of the trip to Spitzbergen, across the Arctic Sea and through a region where the Gulf Stream meeting the ice frequently produces bad fogs and winds. But the *Norge* was fortunate and had a quick and pleasant passage, with the wind aft all the way to Kings Bay, where she was walked into her hangar on May 7. *Dirigible reaches Kings Bay.*

In the meantime Commander Byrd, with his crew of volunteers, had arrived in Kings Bay aboard the steamship *Chantier*. The bay was filled with ice, and he found, to his disappointment, that a Norwegian gunboat was tied up to the only dock, that of the coal company, and would not finish fueling for several days. The Captain of the gunboat did not wish to let Commander Byrd dock his ship there during the night for unloading, because to do so would subject his own vessel to the danger of ice in the bay and also keep his crew up twenty-four hours. So Byrd was forced to take his plane ashore on pontoons made from the steamship's lifeboats, a dangerous feat, for if a strong wind sprang up it would have crushed the boats and destroyed the plane. There was no alternative, however, unless he were to lose valuable time. *Byrd, unable to dock, forced to take plane ashore on pontoons made from lifeboats.*

Men who are attempting to fly in the Arctic have to force their luck. The experience of both Amundsen and Byrd proved that this year. No matter how discouraging

the present circumstances may be, the only way is to jam through preparations as successfully as possible, for tomorrow may be a good day, which, if lost, may not return. As a matter of fact, the long spell of good weather which aided Byrd to fly to the Pole and in which the *Norge* left Spitzbergen, days of cloudless sky and gentle winds, ended soon after the *Norge* left, and for days there were wind and sleet and fog, with skies so overcast that navigation would have been impossible.

*Ice-filled
bay makes
trip slow
and
hazardous.*

The work of getting the Byrd plane ashore and setting it up for its trial flight is an epic of the North. It was begun in the face of discouragement from every one who knew anything about the weather of Spitzbergen. The ice had filled the bay and between the *Chantier* and the shore were huge cakes and bergs, through which it seemed impossible to force a way. A wind from the south would have sent this ice grinding out to sea, probably carrying the plane with it. Yet Byrd, knowing that he had to take a chance, took it, and to the amazement of the Norwegians got the plane ashore. There it was quickly placed on skis and tried out, and when the *Norge* arrived a few days later the plane was resting at the top of its long runway in front of the dirigible's hangar, ready for its flight.

The first trial was a terrific disappointment. The motors had been idling for so long that they had become choked, and when Floyd Bennett, the pilot, opened them up they could not attain their full horsepower and the

plane did not reach a speed sufficient to lift it with its 9,000-pound load. It was a gloomy crew which followed the plane down to the hill, where it rested in a snow-bank, and gathered about the silent Byrd and Bennett. Then Byrd, with a touch of genius in leadership, ordered the plane run up to the top of the hill again. Five minutes after it got there the crew, already weary enough to drop from their long labors, were at work again renewing their efforts to make the runway smooth and hard.

Down at the mess hall Amundsen and Ellsworth and the other members of the expedition were discussing the plane's failure to rise. There was no doubt that by this time the spirit of rivalry between the two expeditions had become keen and both wanted to be the first to get away. The Norwegians went to bed convinced that Byrd was anchored for at least another day, but during the night the plane was lightened, some valuable gasoline being sacrificed, and when the little settlement of Kings Bay was sound asleep, just before 2 o'clock in the morning of May 9, the three motors of the *Josephine Ford* roared into action, and with a graceful swoop the giant plane raced down the runway and shot away in a long, lifting flight.

*Byrd and
Floyd
Bennett
start
momentous
flight.*

Kings Bay is a beautiful place in the yellow light of the midnight sun. The pyramidal, snow-clad mountains surround a long arm of the sea which ends at the foot of two high glaciers, and enclose it in a vast amphitheatre of snow and ice. It is silent, calm, majestic, a stronghold

of the gods defying the incursions of puny man. And out of this the whirring blue bird bearing two intrepid Americans rose with a romantic beauty which those who saw it will never forget. Straight into the midnight sun it sailed, a tiny speck lost in a golden light.

*Long hours
of anxious
waiting for
news from
airplane.*

Then came long hours of waiting, when the men who had worked so hard to get it started sat silently in the cabin of the *Chantier* after a few hours' sleep. Kinkaid, the motor engineer, who had tested the motors until he was sure they were as near perfect as man could make them, sat quietly in a corner, only voicing now and then the anxiety he felt lest he had forgotten something which would bring disaster to the two men flying in unutterable loneliness over the treacherous ice. Only a few signals had come back from the wireless, and those had long since ceased. Then, as Amundsen and Ellsworth and the others were sitting down ashore to dinner, came the thrilling cry, "Byrd is coming!"

*Triumphant
return
of Byrd
and
Bennett.*

His return was a triumphal one in which all rivalries were forgotten, and the congratulations of Amundsen, Ellsworth, Nobile and the others of the *Norge's* crew were sincerely offered to him. Byrd traveled a much straighter line toward the Pole than did Amundsen on his unsuccessful flight in airplanes the year before, and also a straighter course than the *Norge* made this year. He was fortunate in having a perfect day, cloudless, with little wind and no fog. And, of course, at that time of year there was constant light from the never-setting sun.

His observation and his use of the sun compass took him on a bee-line from Spitzbergen to the Pole, and after circling that point so difficult of calculation he found his way directly back to his starting point.

Byrd had intended to return by way of Cape Morris Jesup at the top of Greenland, so as to explore the unknown area between there and the Pole, but a mishap to one of his oil tanks prevented the longer flight. The oil tanks were especially made for the trip and considerable room had been left in them for expansion of the oil, but so great was the pressure that a rivet pulled out, and the oil from the starboard motor tank leaked out in a stream which, for a time, suggested to Bennett and Byrd that the motor might run dry and stop. Although the plane would have flown with its load on two motors, the factor of safety would have been lowered so greatly that they did not think it wise to attempt the long swing around by Greenland.

The performance of the plane was perfect except for the leak in the oil tank, and convinced Byrd that flying in the Arctic with heavier-than-air machines is practicable and in time will become not uncommon. As the radius of airplanes is extended the value of the short route between Europe and Asia across the top of the world will become so apparent that it will be used for quick communication.

Performance of airplane perfect except for leak in oil tank.

After Byrd's return all interest became centered in the flight of the *Norge*, which left Kings Bay at 9 o'clock,

Greenwich time, on the morning of May 11, two days later. Would the big dirigible be as successful in its longer, slower flight as Byrd's machine had been in its quick dash? It had shown itself capable of withstanding windstorms, but what might happen to it in fog which would freeze on its outer covering and the propellers, or whether the instruments available would permit navigation through fog or the area of wild compass variations, was not known. The weather continued favorable, and as Byrd reported no fog on the Spitzbergen side of the Pole, the dirigible was assured of good weather that far.

There were eighteen men in the crew, including the two leaders, Amundsen and Ellsworth. Some of those who had helped work the huge machine on its difficult passage from Rome were left behind so that the greatest amount of gasoline might be taken. The little cabin was crowded with instruments, its walls hung with pictures, the keel full of provisions and personal effects, and every member of the crew carried his pet good luck amulet, until Riiser-Larsen, the second in command, remarked facetiously that no person could carry more than six charms, as Christmas was long past.

The crew were still tired from their work when they climbed aboard and the big ship was hauled from the hangar. Only men of iron constitution and supreme faith in their success could have started with such cheery determination. As they rose in the air and turned seaward those not immediately occupied leaned from the cabin

*Weather
favorable
for flight
of the
Norge.*

windows or holes in the keel and waved to the figures growing small and far away on the snow. Around and overhead soared the big blue plane which had just returned from the Pole, and which now escorted its giant rival out to sea, hovering about until the *Norge* disappeared over the ice.

*Byrd's
plane
escorts
dirigible
out to sea.*

The fascinating thing about the *Norge's* trip was that for hours after she left messages came from her by radio, so that it was possible to trace her course some distance beyond the Pole. It made her progress the greatest sporting event in the history of aviation, with the possible exception of Alcock's flight across the Atlantic. Every hour or two the messages came back, showing that she was boring her way slowly but steadily northward, until at 1 o'clock on the morning of May 12, Ellsworth's birthday, the Pole was reached and the American, Norwegian and Italian flags were dropped. Thus for the second time in three days the Pole had been conquered. A message announcing that feat was sent by wireless from the *Norge* and a few hours later printed in *The New York Times*! It was the first direct word ever received from the top of the world.

*Norge,
arriving
at Pole,
announces
feat by
wireless.*

Neither Byrd nor those on the *Norge* saw anything at the Pole but ice. Great, desolate fields of ridged and hummocked ice, extending as far as the eye could see. It had been thought possible that a long stop might be made at the Pole for the purpose of taking observations, but, after only a short delay in which those aboard looked

on this long-sought spot with confused emotions of elation and wonder, the motors were started again and the ship plunged on, southward this time, toward the great unknown area. The messages continued for a time and then stopped, and for two days there was silence while the world far away to South wondered and became anxious for the fate of the little band of adventurers.

The *Norge* was having her troubles during this period. The weather, which had been favorable, became foggy, and ice formed on the propellers, to be thrown off in tiny particles which cut the canvas surrounding the keel, penetrating provisions and threatening to cut the great gas bag of the dirigible in half. The dirigible was lifted as far as possible without losing her ballast and gas, but it was found that clouds overhead coated the ropes and propellers thickly with ice, and only by careful manœuvring was the least dangerous position found. Even there the fog beneath and the clouds above surrounded the *Norge* so that she flew in a weird world of her own, almost entirely cut off from observations of the sky and the ice below. At times the fog or clouds opened and it was possible to see that the same dreary expanse of ice stretched before them, with no land in sight, and an occasional sight of the sun was obtained. By getting a line of longitude from this an approximate course was laid, and it was a remarkable evidence of the navigator's skill in dead reckoning that with only this slight assistance he was able to reach Point Barrow. The sun com-

*Ice coats
ropes and
propellers
of dirigible.*

pass was useless, frozen in a block of ice outside the cabin.

The crew suffered greatly from cold during the flight, as every time a window in the cabin was opened the cold, humid air rushed in to chill them and make the handling of instruments difficult. The wireless was put out of order by ice coating the antenna and generator propeller. Food was frozen, and if it had not been for the warm coffee in thermos bottles they would have suffered from hunger.

Crew suffers greatly from extreme cold.

Finally Point Barrow was sighted ahead, while the *Norge* drove by on the wings of a stiff wind which forced her along at sixty miles an hour. On the coast of Alaska the greatest peril was encountered during the trip, for here was fog and a heavy wind also, and when the motors were used at anything like full speed ice was thrown through the lower part of the ship. The explorers sought long for a landing place, dreading the possibility of being hurled against a mountainside and destroyed. They had reached Point Barrow only forty-six hours after leaving Kings Bay, much better speed having been attained than Colonel Nobile had hoped for when he started, but now for twenty-five hours they fought fog and storm along the Alaskan coast, having made up their minds to run down toward Bering Strait. At times they were only 150 to 200 feet over the ground, rushing along at express train speed, able to see only a short distance ahead. Out over the ice in Bering Strait the ice began to

Fight fog and storm along Alaskan coast for twenty-five hours.

form anew, and as all the patching materials had been used up orders were given to land the ship at any risk in the quickest possible way.

When a bearing was finally obtained by wireless it was found that they were off Cape Prince of Wales, heading northwest. The ship was thrown about by the wind and drifted badly off her course. It was found impossible to make Nome, and when they reached Teller an anchor was lowered, a member of the crew slid down, and with the assistance of one or two persons on the ground the nose of the ship was brought into the wind and held fast. Then she was quickly deflated and the crew all safely landed, exhausted but happy at the successful termination of their hazardous trip.

The trip of the *Norge* from Rome to Teller was the second longest trip ever made by a dirigible, and, considering the dangers encountered and the difficulties of navigation, the most spectacular feat ever performed by a lighter-than-air ship. The total distance covered by the *Norge* from Rome to Teller was 6,820 miles. The trip from Kings Bay to Teller was 2,700 miles. She made the trip from Kings Bay to the Pole, 750 miles, in fifteen hours; from the North Pole to Point Barrow, 1,250 miles, in twenty-eight and one-half hours, and from Point Barrow to Teller, a round-about trip of 700 miles, in twenty-four and one-half hours. Colonel Nobile, designer as well as pilot of the airship, was elated at its performance. He said he felt that the *Norge* had demon-

Finding it impossible to reach Nome, crew lands at Teller.

Most spectacular feat ever performed by lighter-than-air ship.

strated that a semi-rigid dirigible of her type was the most perfect yet constructed for difficult and stormy flying. She was so built as to give with the wind strains, and at times her whole keel bent and twisted without breaking.

The expeditions, both of Byrd and the *Norge*, marked a new era of exploration in the Arctic. They proved that by taking to the air men may force their way into regions where it is impossible to go on foot. Amundsen and MacMillan had said that airplanes were useless in Arctic work. Byrd showed that with proper preparations and with the right machine men may fly in the Arctic with comparative safety. Given any satisfactory sort of landing place, either on snow, ice or water, the plane will function there as well as anywhere else. The difficulty is to find a landing place or develop a plane which may be landed on either snow, ice or water. Byrd believes this will be done. And as for the *Norge*, her trip is sufficient proof that at least her type of dirigible will withstand the Arctic elements at their worst, for neither fog nor wind nor snow nor cold stopped her on her record flight.

What the future will bring in Arctic aviation is still problematical. There is much exploring still to be done north of Ellsworth Land and north of Greenland, for both Byrd and some members of the *Norge's* crew believe land is there. Byrd, Nobile and Riiser-Larsen have expressed their desire to examine this area more carefully from the air. Byrd goes so far as to predict that even

*Expeditions
mark new
era in
exploration
in the
Arctic.*

night flying in the Arctic is possible and some day will be done.

United States refuses to join conference for discussion of reservations to protocol of World Court.

[February 11, 1926. A neutrality treaty is ratified by Soviet Russia and Turkey. April 19. The United States Government dispatches a refusal to the League of Nations Secretary General to join a conference of the signers of the World Court resolution to discuss the reservations of the United States to the protocol. April 24. Germany and Russia sign a neutrality treaty. April 29. France and the United States conclude an agreement by which France will fund her wartime debt of approximately \$4,000,000,000 by paying a total of \$6,847,674,104 over a period of sixty-two years. August 6. Gertrude Ederle, a nineteen-year-old American, swims across the English Channel in 14 hours, 31 minutes, the first woman to accomplish this feat. September 8, Germany is admitted to the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on the Council. December 25. Emperor Yoshihito of Japan dies and is succeeded by his son, Hirohito.]

COLUMBUS OF THE AIR

(A.D. 1927)

AUGUSTUS POST

ONE night in May, a tall, good-looking American boy stands in line unnoticed before a New York moving picture house, like anyone else; a few hours later he drops from the sky in Paris, and the theater before which he stood is crowded to the roof to see the world's hero upon the screen. No man since men began to make history has risen so swiftly to world-wide fame as this young American, Colonel Charles Augustus Lindbergh. The man, the deed and the hour combined to make this the event most quickly and widely known to the greatest multitude of rejoicing human beings. He had just come from San Diego, California, alone, in twenty-one hours, the fastest air time across the Continent, and a record that would have put him on the front page of the newspapers in quieter times than these. But this was only tuning up for the flight

*Lindbergh's
swift rise
to fame.*

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*Simplicity
of
Lindbergh.*

that he was about to make; crossing the Atlantic on a sandwich and a half and a few swallows of water; landing at night, on unknown ground, in a machine with not a spot of oil on it nor a sign of having come from across the globe. It seems to be the peculiar attribute of Lindbergh to do the formidable, the fantastic and the incredible, in the simplest and most everyday fashion, and to keep this everyday simplicity through the fire of the most intense and exhausting publicity that has ever been turned upon a single individual.

It was eight years ago, while Lindbergh was still a schoolboy, that Alcock and Brown made the first air crossing of the Atlantic, linking America with England. This fired Raymond Orteig, of New York City, a passionately patriotic Frenchman, with the determination to do something not only to advance aviation but to bring France into these new world-relations. I was at that time secretary of the Aero Club of America, and it was to me that he telephoned to ask my assistance in formulating plans.

*Orteig
offers
\$25,000 prize
for first
flight
between
New York
and Paris.*

It was clear that the best way would be to link Paris with New York by air. This would require a machine to do double what had ever been done before, new instruments, and scientific navigation in addition to piloting. Naturally Mr. Orteig thought the French would be the first to do it, and so did I; he drew up a deed of gift for twenty-five thousand dollars, and I drew up the rules to win this prize that was a challenge to aviation. Five years

passed, however, without a start from either side. The general public did not take it seriously—indeed, up to the very day of Lindbergh's starting, Mr. Orteig was berated in letters to the press, for instigating men to go to their deaths for a deed not only impractical but impossible of accomplishment.

Mr. Orteig, however, extended the time, when an entry came from the foremost French flyer, René Fonck, and an attempt was made. In the following year, 1927, several entries were made from this side, and from France two of the most intrepid flyers of the world, Nungesser and Coli, flew out into the unknown and disappeared. Finally, on May 20, in the mist before morning, Lindbergh rose alone from Roosevelt Field, Mineola, Long Island; was sighted along our coast to the tip of Newfoundland; surprised a fisherman in Dingle Bay by asking from the clouds, "Is this the road to Ireland?" and before the day ended, was in Paris.

The keynote then struck was soon to swell into a world symphony of homage; as he passed from France, to Belgium, to England, kings and commoners joined the acclaim and expressed, each in his own way, the long-waiting joy of humanity at the coming of the first citizen of the world, the first human being truly entitled to give his address as "The Earth," the first Ambassador-at-Large to Creation. Brought home in an American warship, he received the official welcome of his Nation at the hands of the President at Washington, was greeted

Unsuccessful attempts to win prize.

Lindbergh paid world-wide homage.

in New York with a demonstration to which that of Armistice Day alone might be compared, and set sail for home in the plane that he had always recognized as part of himself and partaker of his glory.

Significance
of
Lindberg's
flight.

The reader of this survey of events, reviewing the great day of Le Bourget from the perspective of even a comparatively brief interval, may be permitted to ask, why all the excitement? Just what is the significance of Charles Lindbergh's achievement, that a world no longer looking on the aeroplane as a marvel, a world that had already acclaimed the crossing of the Atlantic, the circumnavigation of the globe by air, and the traversing of the North Pole by aeroplane and dirigible, should thrill to this exploit as if life were in some way beginning over again? The answer is that the world is right. Aviation is beginning over again. An epoch in air history was closed by the flight of Lindbergh, and with it an epoch begins.

Chamberlin
and Levine
cross the
Atlantic.

Before the hero of the New York to Paris flight had regained New York on the *Memphis*, another American youth had crossed the Atlantic, this time with a passenger; Clarence Chamberlin with Charles Levine. Steering for Berlin, their gasoline supply had lasted to within a comparatively few miles of their destination, when they were forced down. Chamberlin is another type of American airman in time of peace; he was a "gypsy flyer," the picturesque phrase for a picaresque way of life. The gypsy flyer owns his own plane and picks up a living by it however and wherever he can; taking up passen-

gers, buying and selling second-hand machines, taking photographs, and especially stunt-flying at fairs or other open air assemblies. The gypsy flyer has been quite naturally looked down upon by the profession as a sort of aerial acrobat and camp follower, but he furnishes some of the most interesting and significant types of young Americans. The country is, if not full of them, at least well sprinkled with bronzed and competent youths, who may drop from the clouds almost anywhere over the countryside and earn a living by their skill, their courage and their often brilliant resourcefulness.

While all this was going on, a scientific expedition, headed by Commander Richard E. Byrd, was waiting suitable weather conditions for an Atlantic flight in the giant monoplane *America*. The crew consisted of Bert Acosta, chief pilot; Lieutenant George O. Noville, radio operator; and Bernt Balchen, reserve pilot. They were not competing for the Orteig Prize, but intended to chart the weather at various altitudes and generally to accumulate scientific data in regard to storms and air currents that would be of value to aircraft plying between America and Europe. Commander Byrd is yet another type of American airman; engineer, naval officer, scientist and explorer, intrepid and devoted. His flights over the Pole and Arctic Regions were made in the interests of exploration, and he is at this writing arranging an expedition to the South Pole. He not only sustains the tradition of the American navy, but represents a family

*Byrd plans
scientific
trans-
Atlantic
expedition.*

that has been prominent in the councils of the American nation since the time of Washington.

After waiting, like a good sportsman, for the return of Lindbergh to this country, the *America* took off from the very field from which the other two flights started, kept in touch with shore stations all the way by wireless, —which neither of the other planes did,—but was exceptionally unfortunate in running into dense fog which obscured the ocean for the greater part of the course. When the voyagers reached the coast of France the weather was so thick that they were unable to determine their position, and their compass went out of commission for some unaccountable reason, but in spite of these disheartening difficulties they were able to return to the seacoast, and by the best of airmanship made a fortunate landing at Ver-sur-Mer, in the ocean, coming to shore in their collapsible life-raft.

*Periods of
aviation de-
velopment.*

Brief as the time has been since 1903 when the Wright Brothers rose from the sand dunes of Kitty Hawk and opened the era of aviation, it is already divided into clearly defined periods, with each of which everything may be said to have started all over again. A man still in middle age might have lived through them all; it has been my good fortune to be so placed that I could watch all these developments at close hand. The first division was the period of the Inventors and Builders, such as the Wrights and Curtiss in America, the Voisin Brothers and Blériot in France; it would be hard to separate builders

from inventors, for though the arch-inventors approached the subject by way of laboratory experiments in aerodynamics, and others of their type sought results by elaborate calculation, there were yet others who made valuable contributions to the changing machine by empirical methods, approaching the subject by trying one thing and then another, working "by guess and by gosh," as the farmer built his bridge, and acting as developers in the building process.

*Era of
inventors
and
builders.*

Immediately after this came the era of the Demonstrators, the age of "aerial jockeys." At first these were the inventors and builders themselves—Wilbur Wright at Le Mans, France; Orville Wright at Fort Meyer, and Glenn Curtiss elsewhere in the United States. But soon this duty of demonstration fell to a generation of pupils, who did not add a nut or a bolt to the construction of the machine, who flew what was given them, but who by their intrepid use of what they had, constantly set the constructors new tasks, and constantly required of them new machines that would respond to their abilities and fulfill their demands.

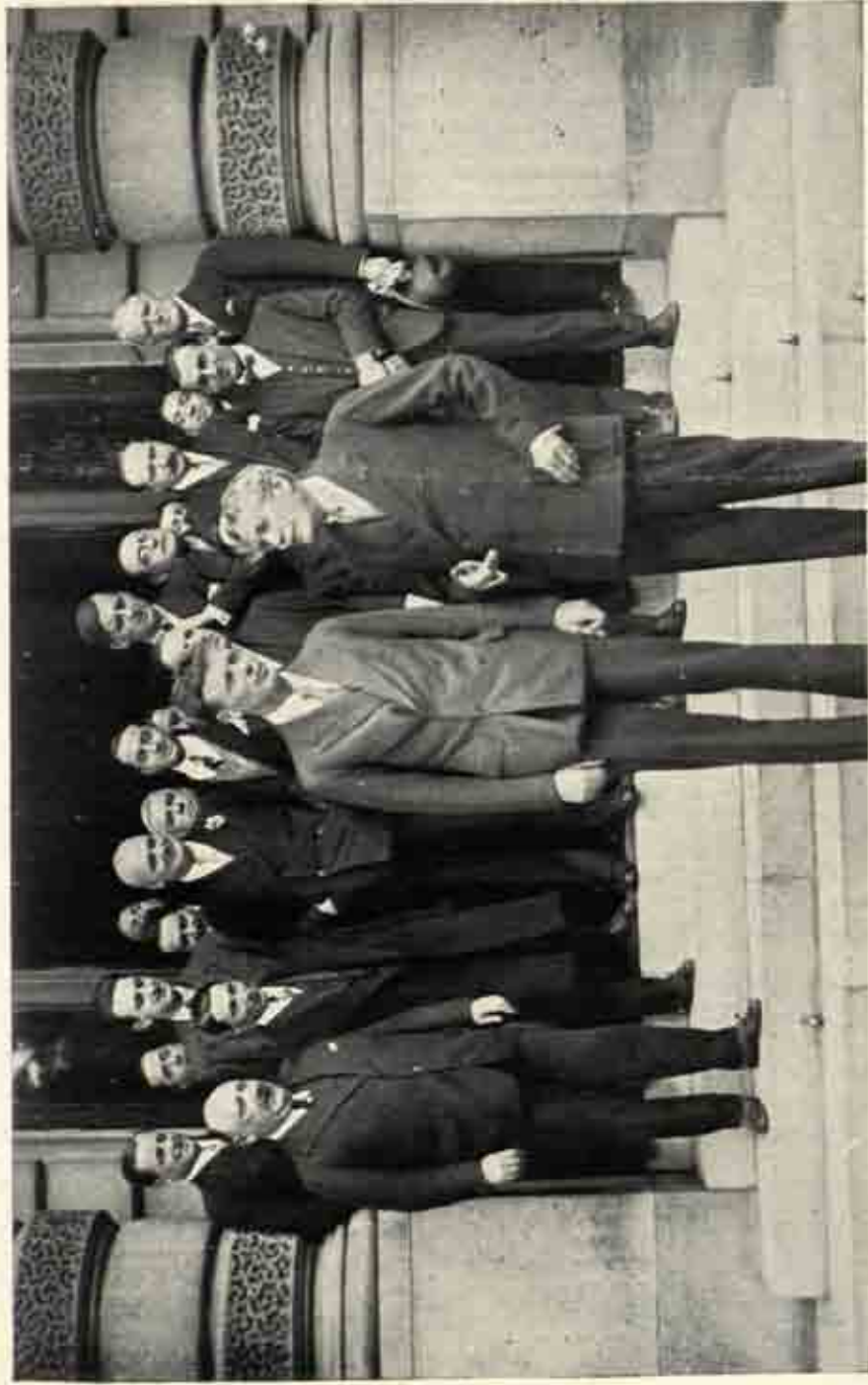
*Day of
aviation
demonstra-
tors.*

It was this generation that by concentrating on flying proved possibilities undreamed of by the public, and only remotely hoped for by the builder. Pegoud's feat in looping-the-loop was reviled by the unthinking as foolhardiness, serving no good purpose; a reproach that has never been withheld from any stage of development of air flight, and from which even Lindbergh himself has not

been free. But by Pegoud the aeroplane builder was challenged to provide for all future flyers a machine that would withstand the strain of this new manœuvre, to the general improvement of the plane and to the vast enlargement of the possibilities of flight, especially in warfare. During this period these expert demonstrators developed the plane by races and contests in reliability and speed, and carried it to undreamed of altitudes. They were enlarging the pattern: already by the close of this era, the Atlantic Flight was on the horizon as the greatest possibility of all in the way of demonstration.

*World War
gives new
impetus to
aviation.*

But this period was to come to a violent end. The World War intervened. Only to compare the little, light machine that went into the war with the deadly efficiency of the engines that emerged from it is to see for one's self that this period brought about developments in aviation comparable only to those in surgery and in chemistry. The vital necessity that made surgeons and chemists take chances that a century of peace would not justify sent men into the clouds to perform the impossible and make it the commonplace of a flyer's day. This period added armament to the plane and made the gun its *raison d'être*, with flying only a means to this end instead of an occupation for all the powers and energies of hand and brain, as heretofore. It not only developed a type of flyer who could run his machine almost automatically, reserving his darting intelligence for the exigencies of conflict, but it laid upon the builder the



LINDERBERGH WITH AMBASSADOR HERRICK AFTER THE EPOCHAL FLIGHT TO PARIS (Page 243-253)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH



necessity of providing him with a plane whose mechanism would respond at once to the most sensitive control. When the war stopped, the Ace had been evolved, a creature whose personality extended to the tips of its wings and in whom mind and motor were one.

Opportunity for the Ace stopped with the war, and with the coming of the fourth period, Commercial Aviation, the machine began to take first place in the public mind—the machine and the organization that made its operation possible on a large scale. Air lines opened in every direction in Europe, and became in a short time a valued method of transportation, not only in respect to speed, but for the even more important qualification of safety. The Channel as a barrier had crumbled under Blériot and disappeared during the war; it was now to be crossed daily by steady airgoing craft used by tourists no more freely than by staid business men desiring conservative and speedy methods of transportation for themselves and for fragile merchandise. From every airport of Europe lines crossed and recrossed the map. The globe was circled, Australia linked to the mother-country, the Sahara opened and Darkest Africa illuminated; the Atlantic, North and South, was crossed no less than fifteen times by airship and aeroplane; the islands of the Pacific, Hawaii and the Aleutian Islands were joined to the mainland, the flights depending in each instance not only upon the skill of the pilots in flying and navigating, but upon long preparation, organization and team work.

*Development of
commercial
aviation.*

of their supporters, in some instances of supporting Governments. But although our Government took some part in this procession, the peak of our activity in this period was the air mail, a fine example of organized support of individual bravery and skill.

*Lindbergh's
history-
making
flight.*

The actual achievement of Lindbergh is easily set down. In a monoplane named for the city of his financial backers, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, built for him in sixty days, he flew on May 20-21, 1927, 3,610 flying miles, without stop or deviation from a determined course, in thirty-three hours and twenty-nine minutes. His only new instrument of importance was the earth-inductor compass; this he constantly watched, and in order to fly, as he flew, on the arc of a great circle, it had to adjust about every hundred miles. He had continually to judge the side-drift of his machine and allow for it, and also to use his judgment in manœuvring around fog and storm centres. The distance he covered constituted the world's record for non-stop flight, at the time, but this was never emphasized in the popular mind, and I doubt if one man in a thousand who cheered Lindbergh could have told offhand the number of miles that he had flown in those memorable hours above the ocean.

There are some flights that make records and some that make history: this was a history-making flight. As with all the other periods of flying history, everything is beginning over again with it. Attention is again directed, not only to the machine, but to the man, as in the first

days, when aviation was a matter of great individuals. Old and young share in the thrill, for youth acclaims the young hero and to those who lived through the pioneer days, the days of pioneering begin anew. In 1926 Commander Byrd's magnificent feat in crossing the North Pole roused the admiration of the world, but once done it was, so far as the public mind was concerned, done with, while Lindbergh's flight, almost immediately followed by Chamberlin's and then by Byrd's, seems even to the unimaginative the opening of a new era of transportation. As important as its being done was the fact that it was done on time, and again, it was the aspect of ambassadorship that loomed large in the public imagination. America is a long way off from Europe, and, with the best will in the world, professional diplomacy does not always tend to diminish the distance. Radio—whose development has progressed step by step with aviation, as the telegraph accompanied the railroad and the telephone the automobile—was doing much to bring the two hemispheres together in thought, but it needed the actual crossing at a single step of this level-headed boy, bringing a greeting no more official than his first words "I'm Charles Lindbergh," but with a smile that carried with it those assurances of good will that words are more apt to obscure than to explain. There is no doubt that Europe took his coming in this spirit, and Lindbergh was fulfilling a sacred trust to humanity when in his brief speech to the multitudes at Washing-

*New type
of ambassa-
dor appeals
to public
imagina-
tion.*

ton and to the thirty millions of radio listeners, he spoke only of the affection for America that he had seen and felt everywhere displayed, in France, in Belgium, and in England, and of his sense of obligation to bring back with him the impression of this frame of mind, undimmed by time, and transmit it to his countrymen.

People appreciate what comes within their experience. Though the public thought the flight was great, it was even more impressed by the flawless tact with which Lindbergh met the kings of the Old World and the crowds of the New, and the unerring judgment that steered him past the two storm centres of sentimentality and commercialism. He conveyed far more by his actions than he did by his words, well chosen as they invariably were; he brought new power and vitality to diplomacy by the addition of the dramatic element.

The trans-Pacific flight of Maitland and Hegenberger, which took place with brilliant precision at almost the same time as Byrd's, was but another proof to the public of the marvelous state of accuracy to which the navigation of aircraft had reached; such small objects as the Hawaiian Islands, after a flight of twenty-five hours and fifty minutes, could be hit "plumb on the nose," although they were a distance of twenty-four hundred miles away over water. But long distance flights are becoming of everyday occurrence and the public no longer complains that human life is being risked for only a brief moment of glory. The mortality rate has always

*Trans-Pacific
flight by
Maitland
and
Hegenberger.*

been lower for aviation than people generally believed, for the emphasis has been not upon the man that flies but the man that falls; now the expectation is that the pilot will win through, just as the traveler on the railroad train believes that he will reach Chicago on time. If there is a train wreck the papers do not at once complain that the steam engine is an affront to Providence.

Lindbergh's perfect flight revealed the highest and noblest characteristics of man: daring, skill, calculation and genius. It brought into the limelight of public knowledge the vast height of attainment and the tremendous possibilities even now at our command in the aeroplane of today; and as a flash of lightning illumines the landscape for a moment so that we see the mountain peaks upon the horizon, so this brilliant deed revealed to the imagination of man a clear vision of the future. He had faith not only in his motor, but, what is still more important, in himself, and he was upheld by the wishes, the hopes and the prayers of the whole Nation.

[January 7, 1927. The radio telephone between New York and London is opened by Walter S. Gifford, President of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., speaking to Sir G. Evelyn P. Murray, Secretary of the British Postoffice. January 18. Ratification of the Lausanne Treaty between the United States and Turkey is defeated in the United States Senate. February 9. Great

*Ratification
of
Lausanne
Treaty
defeated in
United
States
Senate.*

Britain notifies the League of Nations she will not accept the reservations of the United States to joining the World Court. February 28. The United States Supreme Court declares that the oil leases granted to the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Co. of Edward L. Doheny by Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall were fraudulent. March 1. The twenty-five year boundary dispute between Canada and Newfoundland is settled by the judicial committee of the British Privy Council by the awarding of 120,000 square miles of Labrador to Newfoundland. April 7. Television is publicly demonstrated when Walter S. Gifford in New York talks with Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover in Washington and sees Secretary Hoover. April 14. Bert Acosta and Clarence Chamberlin make a new world non-stop endurance flight record, being in the air 51 hours, 11 minutes, 20 seconds. July 20. King Ferdinand of Rumania dies and is succeeded by his grandson Prince Mihai, his son Carol having renounced his rights to the throne in December, 1925. Prince Mihai being only five, a regency of three will govern the country. August 7. Major General Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, dies. November 12. The Holland Tunnel under the Hudson River which connects Manhattan to Jersey City is officially opened.

April 12, 1928. The German monoplane *Bremen*, piloted by Captain Herman Koehl and Commandant James E. Fitzmaurice of the Irish Free State Air Force,

*Television
publicly
demon-
strated.*

takes off from Dublin for New York. Though the plane is forced down in the straits of Belle Isle, Canada, the following day because of a shortage of fuel, it is the first to make a non-stop flight from Europe to America. The Briand-Kellogg treaty outlawing war is signed in Paris by representatives of fifteen nations. October 11-15. The *Graf Zeppelin*, commanded by Hugo Eckener, makes a trans-atlantic flight, starting from Friedrichshaven, Germany, and landing at Lakehurst, New Jersey. November 6. Herbert Hoover is elected President and Senator Charles Curtis Vice-President, carrying forty of the forty-eight states and 444 of the 531 electoral votes.

January 15, 1929. The Kellogg-Briand Treaty is ratified by the Senate. March 4. Herbert Hoover is inaugurated as President of the United States. March 20. Marshal Ferdinand Foch dies at his home in Paris. June 4. King George summons J. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor Party, to form a Labor ministry. This is the second Labor Cabinet in the history of England. July 24. The Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty, supported by sixty-two leading powers, goes into effect. July 25. Pope Pius XI. leaves the Vatican, the first time in fifty-nine years, to take formal possession of the state of the Vatican City, in accordance with the terms of the Lateran Treaty signed February 11. October 7. Great Britain invites the United States, France, Italy and Japan to a Five-Power Naval Conference to be held in London in January, 1930. November 24. Georges Clemenceau

*First
non-stop
flight from
Europe to
America.*

*Pope Pius
XI. takes
formal
possession
of the State
of the
Vatican
City.*

dies at his home in Paris. November 30. The French withdraw from the Second German Zone and the Belgians leave Aix-la-Chapelle.

*Five-Power
Naval
Conference
opens
at London.*

January 21, 1930. King George opens the London Naval Conference attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. March 11. Mahatma Gandhi starts his campaign of disobedience at Ahmada-bad, India. On May 3 he is arrested and imprisoned at Yerroda. May 18. The Allied Reparation Committee, established by the Treaty of Versailles to collect war indemnities from Germany, completes its work as the Young Plan goes into effect. June 7. The Rumanian Parliament declares Carol's renunciation of the throne of January 6, 1926, void and proclaims Prince Carol as King. June 30. The French army of occupation withdraws from the Rhineland. July 21. The United States Senate passes the London Naval Treaty. November 2. Emperor Haile Selassie I is crowned at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. December 12. With appropriate ceremonies, all troops of occupation leave the Saar.

*Spain
becomes a
republic.*

April 12, 1931. At the municipal elections in Spain the Republicans are overwhelmingly victorious. King Alfonso is forced to flee from the country, and a republic under the Presidency of Niceto Alcala Zamora is proclaimed. August 24. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald resigns with his entire Labor Cabinet. King George immediately asks MacDonald to form a new Cabinet com-

posed of all parties to meet the financial crisis of Great Britain. September 24. Secretary of State Stimson sends identic notes to China and Japan, appealing for a cessation of the conflict in Manchuria. December 9. The Cortes (Parliament) adopts the new Spanish Republic Constitution.

January 3, 1932. Japanese troops numbering 13,000 attack Chinchow, Manchuria. January 7. The United States Government sends identic notes to the Chinese and Japanese Governments stating that America will not recognize any treaty of those countries "which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China" nor "recognize any situation or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of Aug. 27, 1928." February 2. The first World Disarmament Conference opens at Geneva with nearly 60 nations represented. February 18, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia are declared independent by the newly formed North-eastern Executive Council and Henry Pu-yi, the Manchu boy-Emperor, who was deposed in the revolution of 1911, is chosen as ruler. March 7. Aristide Briand dies at Paris. March 9. The Dail Eireann of the Irish Free State elects Eamon de Valera President of the Executive Council. April 10. Paul von Hindenburg is re-elected President of Germany by a majority of over 2,000,000 over the votes of Adolf Hitler and Thaelmann. May 6. President Doumer of France is shot at Paris by a Russian immi-

World Disarmament Conference opens at Geneva.

*Lausanne
Treaty is
signed.*

grant, and dies the following day. June 16. The Reparations Conference opens at Lausanne, Switzerland, with representatives from 18 countries. July 9. Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Poland, the British Dominions and Germany sign the Lausanne Treaty in accordance with which bonds for 3,000,000,000 gold marks (approximately \$714,000,000) are to be delivered to the Bank for International Settlements, the bonds to be redeemable and to bear 5% interest. The bonds are not negotiable for three years, but if not negotiated within fifteen years are to be canceled. A "gentleman's agreement," signed by representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy, provides that the Lausanne Treaty is not to be presented to their respective countries for ratification until satisfactory settlements of the war debts are made with their creditors, namely the United States.]

MANCHURIA: A NEW ACT IN THE WORLD DRAMA

(A.D. 1932)

GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

A YEAR ago next Sunday, during the night, a section of track of the South Manchuria Railway was blown up in the vicinity of Mukden. This act of aggression against Japanese property was attributed to Chinese troops. The next day the Japanese army stationed in Manchuria was set in motion. Thus began the drama that has moved surely and swiftly to its climax. Manchuria was overrun and today the old Chinese province exists as the State of Manchukuo, nominally independent, really a dependency of Japan.

Two events of great international significance are impending at the close of this year of Manchurian drama. The first is the formal recognition of the State of Manchukuo by the Tokyo Government; the second is the

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report to be presented to the League of Nations by the Lytton Commission, which was sent to investigate the Manchurian tangle. Both of these events must make themselves deeply felt in the future policy of the United States and in the development of the League.

During the whole of this troubled year Japan has sought to keep the record straight as to its treaty relationships with the League and the United States. No matter what acts were done in Manchuria, explanations were offered to bring those acts within the scope of the covenant of the League, the Nine-Power treaty and the Kellogg-Briand pact, to the latter two of which the United States is a signatory. This policy involved Japan in logical difficulties which won her almost universal disapproval, because often the connection between events and explanation was so remote as to arouse doubt of Japan's sincerity.

This policy is now being discarded. Japan is now in the open. She is ready to recognize Manchukuo formally.

By military force and organization Japan has changed the whole face of that large part of the continent of Asia which lies nearest her island empire in the year just rounded out. Through free use of arms there was brought about, by stages, the elimination of the old Chinese Government authority in every part of Manchuria—that is, in the original three eastern provinces, Fengtien, Kirin and Heilungkiang. The fourth province, Jehol, in Eastern Inner Mongolia, united to Manchuria

*Japan
attempts to
place acts in
Manchuria
within scope
of Covenant
of League
and peace
pacts.*

since 1928, remains a buffer State between the new State of Manchukuo and China.

In the conquest of Manchuria, the Japanese army crossed from South to North Manchuria, over an invisible line dividing the Japanese from the Russian sphere of influence. The Manchukuo Government was enabled by the Japanese army to assume authority up to the boundaries which separate Manchuria from Siberia.

The period of expansion is not, however, at an end. The Japanese military objective is to seal all approaches to Manchukuo from China. The approach from the south was closed by the bombing of Chinchow and the consolidation of authority to the Great Wall. The approach from the west is still open in the province of Jehol. Just as Chang Tso-lin, when he controlled Manchuria, made Jehol a part of Manchuria, so will the Japanese military make it a part of Manchukuo.

Japan's program is to assure herself that whatever the government now existing in Manchuria, it will do her bidding, recognize Japan's special rights, options and privileges, economic and strategic, so that the Japanese may be able to use Manchuria as a base for their economic development and as the first line of defense in their military plans. This can best be accomplished through a controlled indigenous government. Such a government is Manchukuo.

*New State
of Manchukuo becomes
base for
Japan's economic
development.*

The government of the State of Manchukuo, under

the Regency of the former Emperor of China, Henry Pu-Yi, has not yet been formally recognized, either de facto or de jure, by any government. Factually, however, it has from its inception been recognized by both Japan and Soviet Russia.

Japanese officials organize state and staff its offices with advisers.

Japan organized it, selected its personnel, wrote its Constitution, staffed its offices with advisers, and finally reorganized the Japanese administration of the Kwantung leased territory and the South Manchuria Railway to harmonize with the altered situation arising from the existence of the new State. The appointment of General Muto as High Commissioner was de facto recognition. The formalizing of these relationships by a treaty is hardly more than a gesture.

Fighting in Manchuria has been proceeding steadily throughout the year—except when the weather interfered with the movement of troops—and still proceeds.

New source for raw materials and food products of special value in war time.

To the Japanese Manchuria represents not only a source for raw materials and food products but also a market for their manufactured goods. From Manchuria Japan obtains wheat, coal, iron, the invaluable soya bean, rice and wool. In times of peace these commodities can, of course, be purchased on the open market, but in war-time only Manchuria would be accessible to Japan if the enemy controlled the sea. The Japanese therefore regard it as essential that the market should be made secure for them.

Furthermore, Japan has since 1894 regarded Russia

as a potential enemy and recognizes that any war between Japan and Russia must be on Manchurian soil. Manchuria thus becomes Japan's line of defense, which the Japanese feel they must be in a position to control at any time. The first line of defense was for many years a theoretical one drawn, east and west, through the city of Changchun. Now it is a line running north and south through a post west of Tsitsihar, a movement forward of almost 350 miles.

*Manchukuo
becomes
Japan's first
line of
defense.*

Thus, the Japanese have coined two slogans with regard to Manchuria which have become part of the ideology of the Japanese people: economically, they refer to it as their "life-line;" strategically as their "first line of defense."

The Japanese program of railroad building and economical development has been delayed by the necessities of troop movements. No very important work of reconstruction has been undertaken, although many plans have been announced for railroad and road building and for the electrification of the entire region. It is anticipated, however, that the Changchun-Kanci line, which the Japanese regard as their most important strategic link, will be ready in the Spring.

Japan's political objectives in Manchuria are, in reality, but a phase of a broad program of a hegemony in Eastern Asia. Just as the United States has its Monroe Doctrine and as a British reservation to the Kellogg-Briand pact provides for a British Monroe Doctrine over certain

*Japan's
attempt to
establish
hegemony
in Eastern
Asia.*

areas, so the Japanese have sought to establish a Japanese Monroe Doctrine over the East of Asia.

*Japanese
Monroe
Doctrine
would make
Manchukuo
protectorate
of Japan.*

Japan disclaims any desire to annex Manchuria, but rather to protect Manchukuo. She draws a parallel with the American interest in Cuba. It is more than that, however. The Japanese Monroe Doctrine, as applied to Manchukuo, makes that country a protectorate of Japan.

Japan not only is a member of the League of Nations but has from the beginning been a permanent member of its council. The covenant of the League, part of the Versailles Treaty, is an instrument for the settlement of international disputes among members of the League without application of force. In accordance with the covenant, the disputes between China and Japan are justiciable before the League or its organs. The Japanese regard some of the questions involved in the Manchurian dispute as non-justiciable because they claim that they involve the very existence of Japan.

*League
Covenant
seeks to
maintain
status quo
of national
boundaries.*

On the other hand, the covenant seeks to maintain the status quo with regard to national boundaries, a provision having been made for the readjustment of boundaries by mutual consent. But what happens if a people declare themselves independent of an existing State which is a member of the League, thus altering its boundaries? Thus, the questions raised by the Manchukuo situation are: Have the people of Manchuria rebelled against China and made themselves independent? Can they do that under the covenant's guarantee of

boundaries? Is Japan using this as a pretext to seize Chinese territory? Can that be done under the covenant?

On Dec. 10 the League of Nations agreed to the appointment of a commission of inquiry to visit China, Japan and Manchuria. The commission consisted of Lord Lytton, Great Britain, chairman; General Henri Claudel, France; Dr. Heinrich Schnee, Germany; Count Luigi A. Marescotti, Italy, and General Frank McCoy, the United States. The commission was instructed "to report to the council on any circumstances which affect international relations and destroy peace between China and Japan." It was not "within the commission's competence to interfere with the military arrangements of either party," but it was to encourage direct negotiations if possible.

Commission of Inquiry appointed to study conflict between China and Japan.

The commission reached Japan on Feb. 29 and after visiting important cities in China arrived in Manchuria on April 21. Since then it has been making a study of the problem and has been preparing its report. The work of the commission was delayed by the fighting in Manchuria and by the illness of Lord Lytton, but its report is now ready and will be presented to the council of the League on Sept. 25.

Lytton report ready for council of League of Nations.

It will be recalled that it was Japan who proposed that a commission of investigation be sent to Manchuria and China to find the facts. It was obvious from the beginning that in addition to fact finding as regards Manchuria and China and Japan's relations to them, the com-

*Field
covered in
survey of
commission.*

mission would have to consider, first, the effect of Japan's actions on world peace machinery; second, the danger to the peace of Europe of the application of Japan's contentions regarding the "first line of defense in Manchuria" to troublesome European situations; third, the conflict of interest between the great and small powers in Europe; fourth, the relations between Japan and the United States in the Pacific, and, finally, the procedure of punishment and its practical implications in the event that Japan were found guilty of aggression.

The report then had to be a compromise. Many suggestions were made while the commission was in Manchuria. Among these were that a semi-independent nation under Chinese suzerainty be formed in Manchuria, or that a Chinese High Commissioner be appointed with the consent of Japan to govern the country, perhaps even in the interest of Japan as well as China, or that Manchuria become a mandate area, the mandatary being either Japan or international. Japan insisted upon the recognition of Manchukuo as an independent State, annexed neither to China nor to Japan.

*Japanese
expect re-
port to be
unfavorable
to them.*

The Japanese believe that the report, no matter how compromising it may be, will be unfavorable to them. They expect it to condemn Japan for not having submitted breaches by China of Sino-Japanese treaties to the League of Nations or the World Court; to criticize the use of force in the accomplishment of any purpose; and

to oppose the recognition of Manchukuo as an independent State.

Japan is faced now with the alternative of accepting the findings of the commission and acknowledging responsibility for the return of Manchukuo to China or recognizing the new State and taking the consequences.

The first alternative is impossible. Lives were lost, treasure spent. Chinese in Manchuria threw in their lot with the Japanese and they have to be considered. The acceptance of the judgment of the League would involve tremendous "loss of face" for Japan in the eyes of the Chinese. Throughout the controversy it has been difficult to see how Japan could accept less than a clean bill of health and not lose face, according to Asiatic standards.

Yet the complete rejection of the report would involve Japan in major difficulties. First of all, there might be sanctions, but, even ignoring that phase of the problem, Japan must try to prevent the League from passing an unfavorable judgment. The real danger is that "loss of face" may force Japan to serve notice of withdrawal from the League. Although such a withdrawal could not take effect for two years, it would immediately raise the question of Japan's mandate to the former German colonies in the Pacific and the permanent seat on the council of the League. From every standpoint this is an awkward situation.

*Acceptance
of findings
of commis-
sion involves
"loss of face"
for Japan.*

On the other hand, the League is equally embarrassed. Should the League accept the Lytton report and do noth-

League of Nations confronted by difficult choice of action.

ing about it, then the League would be proclaimed morally bankrupt. Besides, this is a most unpropitious moment to raise the question at all, as Italy and Germany are also considering the state of their relations to the League.

Failure to destroy Manchukuo and to drive the Japanese out of Manchuria will be proclaimed by the Chinese as proof that China has been misled. This fact becomes increasingly important when it is realized that a vast body of Chinese have been opposed to dependence upon the League of Nations and the United States, and have favored either war with Japan or direct negotiations. In the critical situation in which the Nanking Government now finds itself failure at Geneva may be fatal.

The interest of the United States in the Manchurian questions arises from two important international agreements to which both the United States and Japan are parties. These agreements are known as the Nine-Power treaty and the Kellogg-Briand pact.

Nine-Power treaty guarantees China territorial and administrative integrity.

The Nine-Power treaty, as Secretary Stimson explained in his letter to Senator Borah in January, was a self-abnegation treaty designed to give China all the time she might need to work out her salvation: during that time her territorial and administrative integrity was to be inviolate. Manchuria was included under this pledge. No provision was made for the revision of this treaty or for its tenure. The Japanese contend that conditions in China have grown so impossible that her neighbor,

Japan, must take action to protect her own interests. The American attitude is that it was known at the time of the signing of the treaty that conditions in China were unfortunate and that the fact that they may have grown worse cannot be made an excuse for the violation of the treaty.

The Kellogg-Briand pact is an American measure to bring the United States within the world peace machinery without becoming a member of the League of Nations. It is an instrument to abolish the use of war as a national policy. Accepted by most of the nations of the world, it lacks vitality because no machinery has been set up to implement it. A large number of reservations were made when it was signed, principally dealing with self-defense. At the time of signature, Secretary Kellogg refused to define self-defense lest unethical countries might use the definition to their advantage. In the Manchurian incident, the pact is seriously tested for the first time. The Japanese contend that it does not apply in instances of self-defense according to the reservations made by the leading countries. It is to be determined then whether Japan acted in self-defense or not.

Three events, the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War and the building of the Panama Canal, altered the previously harmonious relations between Japan and the United States. Japan alone of all Asiatic countries emerged in the twentieth century as a first-class

Kellogg-Briand pact abolishes use of war as national policy.

Harmonious relations between the United States and Japan ruined by earlier events.

power. Japan alone of these vast countries developed economic and military strength to force recognition by the "white" nations.

Friendship between the United States and Japan, subsequent to the Washington conference, was balanced by a series of understandings and sacrifices incorporated in the resolutions passed and treaties signed on that occasion. The Nine-Power treaty was an effort to confirm that balance.

Now this balance is upset by the recognition of Manchukuo by Japan. There are many views as to the significance of the changed situation. The official attitude of the United States is that the balance should be maintained on the basis of 1921, and in pursuit of that attitude Secretary Stimson has assumed leadership in opposition to Japan's activities in Manchuria. He has stated on three occasions—in a note to China and Japan, in his letter to Senator Borah, and in an address before the Council on Foreign Relations—that the United States would not recognize changes effected in Manchuria in violation of treaties.

Officially, the American Government adheres strictly to the traditional American policy of the open door and the integrity of China first enunciated by Daniel Webster in 1843 and best stated by John Hay. At present the positions of Japan and the United States appear to be irreconcilable. Japan has recognized Manchukuo; the United States has outlawed such recognition by any

United States will not recognize changes effected in Manchuria in violation of treaties.

nation. Japan cannot and will not bow to American opinion. What will the United States do about it?

There was a time during the past year when China and other opponents of Japan hoped that Soviet Russia would interfere with Japan's advance in Manchuria. Such anticipations are now utterly dissipated. As a matter of fact, the relations between the two countries are more cordial than at any time since the Russian Revolution.

*Interference
by Soviet
Russia not
expected.*

It is to be observed that some secret understanding between the two countries concerning Manchukuo has been reached. This has not been admitted or denied by either country, but events in Manchukuo, particularly the relations between Soviet Russia and Manchukuo, clearly point to some such pact.

Soviet Russia has inherited Czarist Russia's ambitions in Mongolia and Turkestan. In Mongolia, Russia has been altogether successful, as the Mongolian Soviet Republic has declared its independence of China. Although it has not become an integral part of Soviet Russia, its controlling political party is a member of the Third International and the country has been closed to all foreigners, including Chinese but excepting Russians.

*Soviet
Russia
ambitious
for terri-
torial
expansion.*

Chinese Turkestan is being subjected to a policy of peaceful economic penetration by Soviet Russia. During the past five years economic intercourse between Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) and Tientsin has been in abeyance. Since the building of the Turksib Railroad Chinese

Turkestan has become an economic hinterland of the non-Russian, mostly Moslem, Republics of Soviet Russia.

It is often assumed that the real basis for a Russo-Japanese understanding is that Russia shall have a free hand in Mongolia and Turkestan, while Japan shall have a free hand in Manchuria and Jehol.

Five-Year Plan, however, takes precedence in Soviet Russia.

But more important are purely internal considerations in Soviet Russia, particularly in connection with the Five-Year Plan and the general attitude of a communistic country toward dissensions among the capitalistic countries.

Soviet Russia acknowledged Manchukuo's existence by recognizing the right of the new State to succeed to China's rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway, and by granting both the Japanese and the Manchukuo armies facilities of communication on the Russian lines in Manchuria.

Capitalistic interests in France look to financial possibilities in Japan.

The capitalistic competition between France and the United States influences the French attitude toward Japan in Manchukuo. In recent years both Japan and China have looked to New York for their money. American business investments in Japan amount to \$450,000,000; in China to \$200,000,000. In both countries these investments have been on the increase.

The French want this market, particularly as the Japanese Government has never defaulted on interest or capital payments. It is obvious to French bankers that Japan's special position in Manchukuo will involve capi-

tal investments there guaranteed by the Japanese Government. The French bankers want that business.

The French have opposed thus far all proposals for either diplomatic or economic sanctions against Japan over the Manchurian situation. Furthermore, France has for many years been pursuing a definite course in Manchuria. In Yunnan, Kweichow and parts of Kwangsi, the French have maintained a sphere of influence much tighter in places than the Japanese sphere in Manchuria.

On the other hand, the French system in Europe requires the maintenance of the League of Nations as an instrument of French policy, while at the same time France must insist on the sanctity of treaties, lest Germany use the recognition of Manchukuo by Japan as a precedent for the cancellation of all irksome treaties, particularly the Versailles treaty.

France dependent on League of Nations and sanctity of treaties.

It is this then that puzzles France: her financial and colonial interests indicate a support of Japan; her European system opposes the recognition of Manchukuo.

With an astuteness worthy of the best days of British diplomacy, Great Britain has so manipulated events in her own interest that she has retained the friendship of both China and Japan and has sacrificed no whit of business interest or diplomatic principle. In the Shanghai affair, Great Britain was the honest broker and is being properly rewarded by contracts from the Nanking Government. With regard to the recognition of Manchukuo, Great Britain is silent. In fact, the silence of British states-

Great Britain continues economic relations with both China and Japan.

men is proving to be truly golden—for British engineering firms get contracts from all sides. It is just one of those marvels which only the British can accomplish.

The Chinese fear that shortly after the recognition of Manchukuo by Japan, that country will annex and make it a colony as Korea and Formosa are colonies.

It is, of course, a matter of opinion and prophecy whether Japan will or will not annex Manchukuo, make Pu-Yi a Prince of Japan and appoint a Governor General to rule the area. My personal opinion is that Japan will not attempt such an annexation only because the Chinese are different from the Koreans and the Formosans. The Chinese are the unconquerables of the universe. They not only cannot be conquered; they cannot be governed; they cannot govern themselves.

If the Japanese treat the Chinese in Manchukuo well by permitting them to attend to their own affairs, the relations of the two countries will be cordial and Japan's rights and interests will be protected. In fact, to the Manchurians there can be little difference between an absentee Japanese overlord or an absentee Nanking overlord—both are foreigners to them and they always govern themselves irrespective of overlords.

But if the Japanese are brutal to the population, if banditry continues, if taxes are high, if the police are oppressive, the Chinese in Manchukuo will make conditions there unbearable for the Japanese.

Should Manchukuo become peaceful and prosperous,

*Annexation
of Manchu-
kuo not
necessary
to protect
Japan's
interests.*

then the Chinese will repossess it as they always have in their history, by the gentle art of increasing the population. Against that no army and no economic scheme is worth anything. Thirty million Chinese today; 50,000,000 in a decade. That is China's means of conquest. That is China's solution for most problems.

But more concrete and more pressing at the moment than this passive attitude is the mass expression of antagonism to Japan that takes the form of an anti-Japanese boycott and of mass demonstration against Chinese officials who may for practical reasons oppose the boycott. Realizing how important the Chinese trade is to Japan and knowing that the stoppage of this trade has, in the past, often succeeded in forcing Japan to agree to China's terms—there is particularly the instance of the retrocession of Shantung—the masses of China, instigated by their officials, but often quite independently of them, not only refuse to purchase Japanese goods but direly punish Chinese who insist upon trading with the Japanese.

*Anti-Japanese
boycott still
threatens
peaceful
settlement.*

It was to suppress such a movement that the Japanese last January embarked upon the unfortunate Shanghai campaign. It is to avoid the consequence of such a movement that the Chinese officials are at present trying to limit mass activity so that next Sunday may not be marked in their country by a conflict between Chinese civilians and Japanese landing parties. Such clashes are expected in many cities, especially in Shanghai. How

far-reaching the consequences may be cannot now be gauged.

[October 3, 1932. The Lytton Report on the conflict between China and Japan is filed with the League of Nations. November 8. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt and Congressman John N. Garner, Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, defeat President Herbert Hoover and Vice-President Charles Curtis, Republican candidates for re-election, carrying 42 states. November 20. Japan replies to the Lytton Report, denying that she invaded Manchuria in 1931 or that she has violated the League Covenant, the Kellogg-Briand pact or the Nine-Power treaty in her occupation of Manchuria or in the setting up of a new independent state there. December 3. General Kurt von Schleicher is appointed Chancellor of Germany by President von Hindenburg. December 11. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy sign a declaration giving Germany equality of arms.]

*Japan
contradicts
findings of
Lytton
commission.*

THE HITLER DICTATORSHIP

(A.D. 1933)

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE Hitler-von Papen Cabinet, representing the Nazi-Nationalist coalition, on March 5 won an unprecedented victory in the Reichstag election, securing about 52 per cent of the total popular vote of more than 39,000,000 and a similar proportion of seats in the Reichstag, thus giving the combined Nazis and Nationalists a clear majority.

*Unprecedented
victory of
Nazi-Nationalist
coalition in
Reichstag
election.*

The victory was undoubtedly due in part to the government's strong-arm methods before the election—its monopoly of the radio for campaign speeches, its suppression of opposition newspapers and electioneering meetings and its creation of a wave of hysteria, as a result of the burning of the Reichstag Building, to the effect that Germany was in danger from a great Communist and Socialist plot. But it was nevertheless a legal victory, won under constitutional forms. It opened the way either for moderation, now that Hitler has finally

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achieved the Chancellorship and a parliamentary majority, or for measures increasing Nazi power still further in the direction of a dictatorship.

The possibilities were well summed up by an earnest editorial in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a very widely read and influential liberal paper controlled by Jews. This paper declared after the election:

"The question which the government put to the people in this election has received an unequivocal answer: the Cabinet of national concentration has received a vote of confidence. Chancellor Hitler is entitled to give credit for this essentially to the party he has created. The tactics employed by National Socialism have borne fruit; the movement has won power in a legal, democratic way. And the great success of its propaganda would indeed have been impossible but for the psychological insight behind it.

"Yet in dwelling upon the most human aspect of the National Socialist movement it must be stated in the same breath that the human longing behind it has suffered horrible distortion through the sentiment of hate evoked through these millions. It is impossible to forget that National Socialism owes much of its success to its anti-Semitism. Race hatred is an old instrument of political tactics; it is, none the less, doubtful whether it is a good instrument. Almost all of what the National Socialist press offered in the past gives rise to the question whether anti-Semitism, questionable in itself, has not

*Anti-Semitism
propaganda
important
factor.*

been used in Germany to divert the masses from thinking."

Suggesting that it was now the duty of the National Socialist leaders to call off this propaganda, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* continued: "National Socialism can now afford to change the methods of its struggle for power. There is no sense in keeping up longer the fiction that the enemies of the National Socialist party are the enemies of Germany. This applies also to the Centrists and the Socialists."

*Call for
moderation
in tactics.*

These counsels of moderation were not followed. On the contrary, the next weeks witnessed a series of measures which virtually meant the scrapping of the Weimar republican Constitution and its replacement by a Hitler dictatorship. They also witnessed the most violent outbreak of anti-Semitism and the most violent consequent protest from Jews of other lands which the world has seen since the Dreyfus case in France and the pre-war pogroms in Russia.

On March 12, the German Memorial Day, on which the country mourns its war dead, the republican flag—black-red-gold—the flag of the liberal students who had fought to overthrow Napoleonic oppression, the flag of the liberals of 1848 who had worked for German unity and constitutional liberty, was hauled down. President von Hindenburg decreed that henceforth the colors that should fly upon all public buildings should be the former imperial black-white-red ensign and the Nazi swastika—

*Republican
flag replaced
by imperial
ensign and
Nazi
swastika.*

the hooked cross—side by side. "These flags," he said, "unite the glorious past of the German Reich and the puissant rebirth of the German nation. Unitedly they shall embody the power of the State and the imminent interconnection of all the national sections of the German people."

*Extension
of Federal
control over
States.*

The extension of the control by the federal government over the State governments, which was inaugurated by von Papen's appointment as federal commissioner last year, was pushed energetically forward by Hitler. Even Bavaria, which had long been most tenacious of its "State's rights," and most opposed to Prussian domination, was forced to yield on March 9. Dr. Heinrich Held, the Bavarian Catholic Premier, was presented with an ultimatum demanding the immediate appointment of a new Bavarian Cabinet, which should represent the Nazi majority won in the election. While he was considering with the Cabinet how the ultimatum should be answered, the Ministerial Building was closed by Nazi storm troopers, and it was announced that General Franz Ritter von Epp, Nazi Deputy in the Reichstag, had been appointed by the Hitler Cabinet as Police Commissioner for Bavaria. This placed the Nazis in practical control of Bavaria, and broke down the last remaining stronghold against them.

Bavaria's swift and peaceful capitulation meant that at last all the seventeen German States were under the effective control of the Nazis and the federal government

from their centre in Berlin. Prussia is ruled by Reich commissioners and by Goering, the Nazis' most militant sub-chieftain, as Prussian Minister of the Interior in charge of the Prussian police. Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Baden, Hesse, Schaumburg-Lippe and Bremen are controlled through Nazi police commissioners. The remaining nine States have either purely Nazi governments or coalition governments dominated by Nazis.

The policy of completely crushing the Communists throughout the Reich was continued by arresting several thousand of their leaders and more influential members. Probably more than 5,000 were thrown into prison and kept for weeks without being allowed to see their families. Karl Liebknecht House, the former Communist headquarters in Berlin, seized by Goering's police, was renamed Horst Wessel House and converted into a Nazi police headquarters. Wessel, a young Nazi, had become a hero because of his death in a street fight with Communists. It was also announced that the Communists recently elected to the Reichstag, being in prison, would not be allowed to take their seats when the Reichstag convened.

*Wholesale
arrest of
Com-
munists.*

In the municipal and communal elections in the State of Prussia on March 12 the Nazis also won sweeping victories similar to their triumph in the Reichstag elections the week before. This meant that some 200,000 minor officeholders, formerly largely Social Democrats or Communists, would be replaced by Nazis or by Nationalists,

mainly the former. It further emphasized the Nazi leader's adoption of the policy, one long familiar in the United States but hitherto one which happily had been relatively little practiced in Germany—the policy that to the victor belong the political spoils.

*Prussian
triumvirate
removed.*

The Hiler government's success in the Prussian elections also resulted automatically in the removal of Dr. Konrad Adenauer, a Centrist, from the so-called triumvirate consisting of the Prussian Premier, the President of the Prussian Diet and the President of the Prussian State Council. This put all three offices under the control of the Nazi-Nationalist coalition, though the office of Prussian Premier was not filled at the opening session of the Prussian Diet on March 21. The reason for this was said to be a difference of opinion within the coalition, the Nazis wanting the Premiership for Hermann Goering, and the Nationalists claiming it for former Chancellor von Papen.

*Potsdam
selected for
first
ceremonial
meeting of
new
Reichstag.*

The newly-elected Reichstag held its first ceremonial meeting in the Garrison Church at Potsdam, since the Reichstag Building was not available on account of the recent fire. The republican Constitution of 1919 was drawn up by a convention sitting at Weimar, a small German capital and centre of culture, associated with the names of Goethe and Schiller, and well removed from the possible pressure of mob influence or of the Hohenzollern Castle of Berlin. For the meeting of the new Reichstag, which was expected virtually to scrap the re-

publican Constitution, at least for a period of four years, Potsdam was chosen. Potsdam, in contrast to Weimar, symbolized the essence of the old Prussian spirit as typified by Frederick the Great.

Standing in the chancel of the old Garrison Church, President von Hindenburg welcomed the Deputies with the following words: "The place where we are assembled today admonishes us to look back at the old Prussia, which in fear of God attained greatness through faithful labor, never-failing courage and devoted patriotism, and on this foundation united the German peoples. May the old spirit of this glory-hallowed site also imbue the present generation! May it free us from self-seeking and party squabbles and join us in national solidarity and spiritual regeneration for the benediction of a free and proud Germany united within itself!"

Hindenburg pleads for national solidarity and spiritual regeneration.

Chancellor Hitler followed with a speech in which he dwelt upon the familiar theme of the decay of Germany during the fourteen years of the rule of the Centrist-Socialist Weimar coalition. He repudiated the charge of Germany's guilt for the World War. He appealed for unity in support of the new government represented by himself, saying: "We shall honestly strive to unite all of good-will and we shall render harmless those who would harm the nation. We want to fashion the peasants, burghers and workers of all classes and occupations into a genuine commonwealth in which the different interests shall be equalized as the nation's future demands. To

the outside world, weighing our one-time sacrifices of war, we want to be sincere friends of peace, which at last shall heal the wounds from which we are all suffering." Then stepping solemnly and dramatically aside Hitler deposited a wreath on the tomb of Frederick the Great.

This first session was made up mainly of Nazi, Nationalist and Centrist Deputies; the Communists were excluded by being kept in prison and the Social Democrats absented themselves, many of their members also being in prison or having sought safety abroad. But at the first regular business meeting of the Reichstag, held in Kroll's Opera House across the square from the old Reichstag Building, Social Democrats were present. The Reichstag proceeded quickly and quietly to choose its officers, and then, on March 23, enacted five sweeping articles, which virtually gave Hitler dictatorial power for a period of four years—until April 1, 1937—as follows:

*Hitler given
dictatorial
powers for
four years*

"ARTICLE 1. Federal laws may be enacted by the government (ie., by the Cabinet) outside the procedure provided in the Constitution, including Article 85 (providing that the budget must be adopted by legislative act), and Article 87 (providing for legislative action to authorize the government to make loans and credits).

"ARTICLE 2. The laws decreed by the government may deviate from the Constitution so far as they do not deal with the institutions of the Reichstag and the Fed-

eral Council as such. The prerogatives of the President must remain untouched.

"ARTICLE 3. The laws decreed by the government are to be drafted by the Chancellor and announced in the *Official Gazette*. If not otherwise ordered, they shall become effective the day following announcement. Articles 48-72 of the Constitution (regulating the announcement and publication of laws) do not apply to laws decreed by the government.

*Chancellor
authorized
to draft
laws.*

"ARTICLE 4. For treaties of the Reich with foreign nations regarding matters of the Reich's legislative authority the consent of legislative bodies is not needed so long as this act is in force. The government shall issue decrees necessary for the enforcing of these treaties.

"ARTICLE 5. This law shall become effective on the day it is announced. It shall remain in effect until April 1, 1937. It shall expire when the present government is replaced by another one."

The effect of these five articles is to confer on the National Government, that is, on Hitler as Chancellor and his Cabinet, a blanket power of attorney for the German people. The frame-work of the old Constitution is not destroyed; the machinery is merely set aside and is not to function for the four years that Hitler exercises dictatorial power, if he continues for that long in office. If his Cabinet should be replaced by another one, the old Republican machinery is there to be called back into operation again.

*Frame-work
of Weimar
Constitution
not
destroyed.*

*President
relegated to
background.*

Though Article 2 states that the prerogatives of the President must remain untouched, he is really relegated to the background. He can no longer veto a bill or appeal in a referendum to the people. His signature is no longer required to laws, which are to be drafted and promulgated by the Chancellor. Whether he might still dismiss the Chancellor is not clear.

As the Chancellor is charged with forming his Cabinet, subject to the President's approval, it is presumed that Hitler could force out his Nationalist colleagues who now share the power with him. Von Papen, Hugenberg, and the other Nationalist or non-partisan Ministers, who at first were expected to hold Hitler in check, could presumably be thrown aside and replaced by his own Nazi followers.

*Funda-
mental
citizens'
rights
virtually
suspended.*

The so-called fundamental citizens' rights guaranteed by the Weimar Constitution—equality before the law, personal liberty, freedom of meeting and of speech, the inviolability of home and property, and so forth—are now virtually suspended, inasmuch as the government is empowered to decree laws "deviating from the Constitution." Under this proviso, for example, it would be possible for the Hitler government to give a special status to such German citizens as were deemed unfit and undesirable for admission to full citizenship, according to Nazi tenets.

To sum up, there is nothing the government cannot do under these articles except that it must not diminish

the remaining rights of the President and must not abolish the Reichstag and Reichsrat as "institutions." This seems to mean that there is no intention of any restoration of the monarchy.

The five articles granting dictatorial powers were rushed through the three necessary readings at one session of the Reichstag, and passed by a vote of 441 to 94. This was considerably more than the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution for amendments. The Centrists, apparently seeing the futility of opposition, voted for them with complete docility. The Social Democrats opposed the granting of dictatorial power with 94 of their 120 votes, about a dozen of their Deputies still being in jail as political prisoners and the rest being absent.

Even before being given dictatorial powers, Hitler brought about changes in several important positions. Dr. Hans Luther, who became President of the Reichsbank in 1930, concluded after several talks with Hitler that he could not cooperate heartily in all the Chancellor's plans. Therefore, in order not to create friction between the bank and the government, he resigned from the Reichsbank on March 16. It was announced that he would be appointed German Ambassador at Washington in place of Baron von Prittwitz.

*Luther
resigns as
President
of the
Reichsbank.*

The appointment of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht as President of the Reichsbank in place of Dr. Luther brought back into active political life one of the shrewdest and

*Return of
Schacht to
active
political
power.*

ablest of Germany's financiers. Though regarded as less conservative than Luther, Schacht has had very wide financial experience. He came into prominence in the Fall of 1923, when, as special currency commissioner, he was entrusted with the almost hopeless task of stabilizing the frightfully depreciated German paper mark. He did it by introducing the so-called rentenmark, which paved the way for the regular full-value paper mark which was adopted a few months later after the adoption of the Dawes Plan.

Schacht then became President of the Reichbank for several years, and helped work out the Young Plan in its original form. But he refused to accept it with the modifications prejudicial to Germany adopted at the Hague conferences in the Winter of 1929-30, and consequently resigned from the presidency of the Reichsbank at that time. Later he spoke at the Harzburg coalition meeting of the Nazis and Nationalists and appeared to have identified himself with their cause. It was therefore not unnatural that he should be rewarded by being restored to his old place.

*Appoint-
ment of
Goebbels as
head of
Ministry of
Propaganda.*

Another significant new official appointment was that of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels as head of the Reich's newly created Ministry of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment. Called from the Rhine region several years ago to organize and head the Nazi movement in Berlin, he contributed not a little to the upbuilding of the Hitlerite power in Prussia. His work as a propagandist, based in

large part on an appeal to anti-Semitism, he has described in his interestingly written book, *Kampf Um Berlin* ("Struggle for Berlin," 1932).

Dr. Goebbels conceives it to be his task to make all the peoples of Germany see the righteousness of the Hitler cause and therefore to support it, and also to make the outside world understand the nature of the recent "National Revolution." Talking to newspaper men after his appointment, he said: "Naturally you newspaper men will receive information from my Ministry, but you also will receive instructions. You are to know not only what is happening; you are to know what the government thinks about it, and how you can most appropriately elucidate it to the people." In later warnings to the foreign newspaper correspondents against disseminating false news or news prejudicial to Germany, that is, to the Nazi cause, and in threatening their expulsion and exclusion of their papers, he made it clear that his Ministry might be likely to function somewhat like a censorship bureau—with all the disadvantages which such a censorship inevitably entails upon a country, at least as far as foreign public opinion is concerned.

*Newspapers
warned not
to criticize
government.*

[January 5, 1933. Ex-President Calvin Coolidge dies suddenly at Northampton, Mass. January 13. President Hoover vetoes the bill granting complete independence to the Philippines at the end of ten years. The House and Senate override the veto. January 28. Chancellor von

*Hitler
made
Chancellor.*

*De Valera
re-elected
President
of Irish
Free State
Executive
Council.*

*First
inaugural
of
Franklin
Delano
Roosevelt.*

Schleicher resigns with his Cabinet. January 30. Adolf Hitler is made Chancellor with a coalition Cabinet intended to hold him in check. February 6. The Committee of Nineteen appointed by the Assembly of the League of Nations unanimously votes to include in its report to the Assembly a recommendation that no nations of the League recognize Manchukuo. February 8. The Dail re-elects De Valera President of Executive Council of Irish Free State by 82 votes to 54. February 16. The United States Senate votes 63 to 23 for the Blaine resolution to repeal the 18th Amendment (Prohibition) to the Constitution. The House adopts the resolution four days later. February 18. Colombia asks the League to intervene in the quarrel with Peru over the Leticia boundary. February 19. Japanese invade Jehol. February 24. Japanese delegates walk out of the League of Nations Assembly when that body adopts the resolution criticising Japan for the conquest of Manchuria. February 27. A fire, apparently set, destroys the Reichstag building in Berlin. March 4, 1933. Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated President of the United States. March 5. Following a series of closings of banks in the United States, President Roosevelt declares a four-day national banking holiday and places an embargo on the withdrawal of gold or silver. The banking holiday is extended at the end of that period for an indefinite time. On March 13. The Federal Reserve banks and a large number of State banks are opened. March 22. President Roosevelt signs

beer bill making sale of 3.2 per cent beer lawful. March 23. Chancellor Hitler gets dictatorial powers for four years. March 27. Japan notifies the League of Nations of her decision to withdraw, due to the "irreconcilable" differences over Manchukuo. April 4. The United States navy dirigible *Akron* is wrecked in a storm in the Atlantic Ocean off the New Jersey coast, 73 being lost and only three surviving. April 19. The United States goes off the gold standard. July 12. General Italo Balbo and his fliers bring their fleet of twenty-four seaplanes which left Rome on July 1 to Labrador. July 27. Spain formally recognizes the Soviet Union. August 9. President Roosevelt appeals to the political factions in Cuba to settle their differences. August 11-12. The Cuban Army rises in revolt against President Machado. He flees from Cuba in an airplane, and Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, former Secretary of State, becomes provisional President. August 24. It is revealed that Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria in conversations with Premier Mussolini has pledged himself to oppose any Austro-German union. August 25. Italy and Russia conclude negotiations for a non-aggression and neutrality pact. September 5. The provisional government of President Carlos Manuel de Cespedes is overthrown by a civil junta and revolutionary committee of five civilians takes over the government. September 25. Byrd's ship, *Bear of Oakland*, sails from Boston for New Zealand with the food supply and scientific equip-

Adolf Hitler has dictatorial powers.

Mass flight of Balbo.

Machado overthrown in Cuba.

Revolution in Cuba.

*Diplomatic
relations
with Russia
resumed.*

ment for Byrd's second expedition to the South Pole. October 14. The National Socialist government of Germany announces the withdrawal of the Reich from the League of Nations. November 16. The United States officially resumes diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. December 5. Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by 36 out of 48 States is accomplished.

*First Soviet
ambassador
to the
United
States.*

January 8, 1934. Alexander Troyanovsky, first ambassador from Soviet Russia to the United States, presents credentials to President Roosevelt. February 14. The Nazi Government abolishes the Reichsrat (representing the German States). February 16. The Dominion of Newfoundland becomes a Crown Colony. February 17. King Albert of Belgium is killed by a fall from a cliff. His son succeeds as Leopold III. February 28. Henry Pu Yi, former Emperor of China, becomes "Emperor of Manchukuo" with the name of Kung Teh. March 22. Congress passes the Philippine Independence Bill. April 4. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania enter into non-aggression pacts with Soviet Russia.

*Dollfuss
Assassinated.*

April 30. The Philippine legislature accepts the Independence Act. A new constitution goes into effect in Australia. May 8. After a lapse of 1,300 years, China and Persia renew diplomatic relations. July 25. In a Nazi-inspired uprising, Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria is assassinated. October 9. Alexander I of Yugoslavia and

Jean Louis Barthou, French Foreign Minister, are assassinated at Marseilles. Alexander's son, eleven, succeeds as Peter II.

January 1, 1935. Persia becomes Iran. January 2. Ethiopia asks the League of Nations to intervene between her and Italy. January 13. The Saar, by plebiscite, votes to rejoin Germany.] *The Saar votes to rejoin Germany.*

THE ITALIAN ADVENTURE: IMPERIALISTS ON PARADE

(A.D. 1935)

KARL RADEK

ITALIAN policy with regard to Abyssinia is an absolutely open attempt on the part of Italian imperialism to rule, both economically and politically, the last independent government in Africa. In reply to the censure in the English press, not only the Fascist press but also the head of the Italian Fascist government Signor Mussolini himself, replies with a proverb: "Even if all the other cows were bellowing at us, it would still behoove the English cow to be quiet." He went on to say that Italy is preparing to do the very same thing that Warren Hastings and Clive did in India, that Cecil Rhodes and Jameson did in South Africa, and that the British Government did in Egypt.

*Italy's
imperial
policy
toward
Abyssinia.*

Italy is planning to seize with a mailed fist a country that it considers a valuable acquisition. At the same time

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*Italian
criticism
of Ethiopia.*

the Italian Government, like all imperialist Powers, points to the white man's burden and his duty to extend the benefits of civilization to his less fortunate colored brethren. Italy also points to the practice of slavery in Abyssinia, a blot that can be removed only by the force of Italian guns. And it is utterly futile for Emperor Haile Selassie to point out that slavery exists also in the Italian colonies next to Abyssinia, in Eritrea and Somaliland. He could even go so far as to say that slavery exists in all the northern and central African colonies. But that argument will not stop the Italian bayonets.

*Italy is one
of the dis-
satisfied
powers.*

The essence of the question resides in the fact that Italy belongs to the group of Great Powers who are dissatisfied with the results of the World War and are striving toward revision. In fact, the Italian Government has never made a secret of this. And it found itself in the anti-German group only at the moment when German Fascism, contrary to its promises, decided to seize Austria from within. Then Italy took a stand against Germany although it had previously declared itself in favor of the revision of the Versailles Treaty and the redistribution of the world. At this point, however, Italy silently withdrew the slogan of common revisionism, or, rather, gave it a peaceful significance—but only with regard to European affairs.

The source of Italian revisionism is the attempt to use imperialist expansion to get Italian Fascism out of the difficult position in which it is now placed. Italian Fas-



ENTRY OF ITALY'S VICTORIOUS TROOPS INTO ADDIS ABABA (Page 308)

PHOTOGRAPH FROM EUROPEAN



cism came to power not only on a wave of fear set in motion by the threat of proletarian revolution but also on a wave of discontent occasioned by the results of the World War. Italy received no important colonies at Versailles, but England took over the German South African colonies and gained valuable protectorates in the Near East, while France got mandates over Togo, Cameroon, and Syria. The insignificant pieces of territory that Italy received from her former allies, though they offer great possibilities for investment, cannot be made into markets or sources of cheap raw materials.

*Reasons
for the
growth
of Fascism
in Italy.*

Moreover, Italy was unsuccessful in the Balkan Peninsula. The struggle for economic and, thereby political, power over the Balkan countries, in which she co-operated first with France and then with both France and Germany, demanded the investment of more capital than the Italian bourgeoisie had at its disposal. The Italian program with regard to Austria has a negative rather than a positive character. Italy opposes German imperialism in Austria because, if Germany should ever extend its frontiers to the Brenner Pass, it would strengthen its position on the Danube and in the Balkans and would also spur the opposition of the German population in the Southern Tyrol.

*Italy and
her
neighbors.*

On the other hand, the union of Austria and Italy would create tremendous difficulties for the latter Government, for Italy is not prepared to meet the competition that the highly developed Austrian industry would

*Industrial
rivalry
of Austria
and Italy.*

give the Italian market. Furthermore, she fears the German-Austrian population, with its high culture and its big cities, and would not like to have it as a part of the Italian Government, for this part of the population would resent assimilation even more than the Southern Tyrolese peasants do.

*Abyssinia
the line
of least
resistance.*

Therefore, Italian imperialism seeks revision in Africa, first and foremost. But it knows very well that it will never get Tunisia over a conference table, and therefore it has decided to work along the line of least resistance. Italy chose Abyssinia, and the reason why she picked this particular time to solve the Abyssinian question is that she is reckoning with the possibility of war within the next few years. But Mussolini believes that the peace years that Europe faces are sufficient for him to conquer Abyssinia and get back in time for the general scramble in Europe.

*France in
need of
Italian
help.*

The rapprochement between France and Italy that took place in January, 1935, convinced Italian Fascism that France would not stand in Italy's way in so far as Abyssinia is concerned, for her first desire is to feel sure of Italy's help against Germany. This calculation explains the incomprehensible humility that Italy displayed during the January negotiations with regard to French colonial concessions. She was content with modest grants since she hoped to get a great deal more in Abyssinia by the power of the cannon. Apparently, Italy does not believe that an Austro-German Anschluss during her ab-

sence is a serious possibility. This calculation is based on the conviction that Italy will be able to seize Abyssinia with some three hundred thousand soldiers and on the equally significant conviction that France will support Italy against Germany, so that German imperialism will lose its taste for a trip to Vienna during the Italian voyage to Abyssinia.

*No fear
in Italy
of Austro-
German
Anschluss.*

The development of events has thus far confirmed the Italian calculations in so far as France is concerned. In this respect, Italy derived great benefit from the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval pact, which provoked a certain distrust toward England in French governmental circles. Unable to depend fully on English help against Germany and fearing independent moves on the part of the English Government that might embolden Germany, the French Government temporarily dismissed all the political calculations that could force it to take steps against the Italian adventure. These calculations are integrally connected with the policy that France has pursued in the League of Nations.

*The policy
of France
in the
League.*

France took her stand against Germany on behalf of the League, in defense of collective security, and for the observance of treaties. But this point of view hardly coincides with Fascist Italy's policies and with her preparations to swallow up Abyssinia, the independence of which Italy and the other Great Powers recognized in many diplomatic documents—to say nothing of the fact that Abyssinia was invited to join the League of Nations

*Abyssinia's
independ-
ence recog-
nized by
the Great
Powers.*

at the suggestion of Italy and France. But these arguments apparently lost all significance in the sight of French government officials when they were threatened with the danger of being isolated in Western Europe. French politicians maintain that Great Britain does not want to assume any obligations to defend France against Germany. If, in addition to this, France should cause a rapprochement between Italy and Germany over Abyssinia, the chief purpose of French post-war diplomacy—to secure the support of the Western Powers in case of German aggression—will fail. In that case, France will be left with the League of Nations but with no allies in the West. These considerations forced the French bourgeoisie to turn a deaf ear toward all English demands for joint measures to defend Abyssinian independence.

But what was the basis of Great Britain's opposition to the Italian policy, an opposition that led to an outburst of anger in the Italian press and to considerable disturbance in Anglo-Italian relations? The English Government explains its point of view on the basis of principles, a desire to spare the League of Nations a profound upheaval. It is undeniable that these considerations play an important role in determining Britain's attitude. They arise from two sources—domestic and foreign.

The English Government faces new elections. The League of Nations, as was abundantly proved by the Peace Ballot (a plebiscite conducted by private individuals to determine the attitude of the English people to-

*France
and
England.*

*England's
point of
view.*

*English
Peace Ballot
on the
League of
Nations.*

ward the League and the defense of peace), enjoys the sympathy and support of the broadest masses in the English petty bourgeoisie and proletariat. The League will play an enormous role in the future elections.

The other determining factor relates to Britain's foreign policy. England is playing for a new delay and is trying to put off the final moment when she will have to make her position clear with regard to opposing Powers. It is most convenient for her to play the role of a world arbiter in the quarrel between France and Germany. British imperialism is trying to lure the Third Reich back to the League in order to balance Germany against France. For the English Government is afraid that, if the Abyssinian affair, following the Far Eastern conflict, should once again reveal the complete impotence of the League of Nations, she will be unable to use the League to maintain the balance of power.

*British
policies
in Europe
and Africa.*

In addition to this, we should not underestimate the importance of British African policy. England will not be satisfied to secure Lake Tana, which feeds the Blue Nile. Literature concerning Abyssinia is very scarce, and the author of this article does not pretend to completely independent orientation in the field of Abyssinian geographic and economic conditions. Nevertheless, it is clear that British imperialism had many opportunities to enter into some agreement with the Abyssinian Government about this lake.

*Not much
literature
on Abyssinia
available.*

The very fact that England has not to this day con-

*Lake Tana
and the
Blue Nile.*

cluded any such agreement lends plausibility to the statement of African experts who believe that Lake Tana is not as important for the water supply of the Sudan and Egypt as it has been made out to be. The Blue Nile has many sources, and the waters coming from far-removed Lake Tana are not the principal one. But, even if this statement is not entirely accurate, it is clear that a compromise between England and Italy with regard to Lake Tana lies within the realm of possibility.

*Possible
war centers.*

Probably Great Britain's opposition, in so far as it is due to an interest in her African colonies, has more general reasons. If Italy should occupy all Abyssinia and get a firm hold on the country, she would become the ruling power in northeastern Africa and would be inclined to coöperate not only with Egypt and the Sudan but also with the neighboring Arabian Governments. British imperialism takes the possibility of war into consideration both in Europe and in the Far East. It is difficult to foresee the actual developments in this war. England does not know how great a role she will be forced to play in the far-removed scenes of battle. Her hegemony over the Red Sea will then become a life necessity.

*Importance
of control-
ling the
Red Sea.*

On the other hand, no one can foresee what side Italy will take in this eventuality. She could exploit her increased strength to raise the question about English and French Somaliland as the just price due her for participation in the allied cause. Italy's role in the future war would not be as important to France as to Great Britain.

For Great Britain has already felt the pressure of the Italian hand even on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, and her dominance over the waterways to India is at stake.

*British
waterways
to India
at stake.*

These are the motives that unquestionably played a large role in England's declaration against the Abyssinian adventure and that led England to make the proposal that Sir Anthony Eden voiced in his conference with Mussolini. The essence of this suggestion was as follows: if Italy would limit her demands to less strategic parts of Abyssinia—a reference to a part of Ogaden—then England would be ready to give Abyssinia an open way to the sea through Zeila in British Somaliland. Italy rejected this proposal, for she thought that once Abyssinia had an open port at her disposal it would be more difficult than ever to conquer the country.

*British
offers to
Mussolini*

Mussolini's refusal to accept the English proposal and the failure to get France to exert joint pressure on Italy led to a certain change in the British position, which found expression in the parliamentary speeches of the new English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Samuel Hoare. Sir Samuel recognized Italy's right to colonial expansion and declared that it was slanderous to say England had asked France to apply joint economic sanctions against Italy in case of war. This change of front led to further conversations, the exact contents of which are unknown but which attempted to persuade Italy to be satisfied, at this stage of the game, with a protectorate over

*Sir Samuel
Hoare's
sympathy
with Italy's
ambitions.*

those provinces that she claimed in the 1906 agreement. At the same time, however, England and France are not to demand a protectorate over the provinces that they claimed in the same agreement.

*Dangers
in the
Abyssinian
situation.*

It is difficult to foresee future developments. In any event, their importance is manifest, not only for the fate of the League of Nations but also for the relations among the various European Powers—and eventually for European peace.

*Germany
avoids
criticising
Italy.*

The attitude adopted by the German Fascist press is not accidental. The Prague *Neue Vorwärts* quotes the following interesting notice sent out by the German Ministry of Propaganda:—

“National Socialist foreign policy does not wish to endanger relations with Italy by criticising German-Italian relations in the press. In speaking about the Abyssinian question, we should consistently avoid any pronouncement of our own point of view, and in reprinting comments from the foreign press we should be careful to suppress any unfriendly statements.”

*Abyssinian
war may
hasten
general
European
conflict.*

If Italy goes to war with Abyssinia, the clash may lead to such an upheaval in the European balance of power that the European war will approach at a heightened tempo. The Abyssinian campaign may play the same role with regard to the European situation today that the Libyan campaign played with regard to the World War of 1914-1918.

[February 12, 1935. The U. S. dirigible *Macon* is wrecked near Point Sur, California. March 1. The Saar is turned over to Germany. March 2. The King of Siam abdicates and is succeeded by his 11-year-old nephew, Ananda Mahidol. Former Greek Premier, Venizelos, and General Nicholas Plastiras, with headquarters at Crete, head a revolt. March 14. Germany reestablishes universal military service. May 6. Celebration of a Jubilee for twenty-five years of the reign of George V opens in England. May 12. General Joseph Pilsudski of Poland dies. May 27. The Supreme Court of the United States declares the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional. June 7. Stanley Baldwin becomes British Prime Minister. June 18. Great Britain agrees that Germany may have a navy equal to 35% of the strength of the British navy. June 21. Bolivia and Paraguay approve a peace protocol. August 2. George V signs the act for a new constitution for India. September 10. Mussolini orders Italian mobilization. Huey P. Long, U. S. Senator from Louisiana, is killed. September 15. Germany adopts a Swastika flag and announces that only racially pure Germans are citizens. September 17. Manuel Quezon is elected first President of the Philippine Commonwealth. October 28. The Chaco War is declared ended. November 18. The League of Nations declares sanctions against Italy. November 22. The airplane *China Clipper* begins its first Pacific flight. December 22. Anthony Eden becomes British Foreign Secretary.

*The Saar
is restored
to Germany.*

*Pilsudski
dies.*

*Quezon is
elected first
Philippine
President.*

January 6, 1936. Supreme Court declares the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional. January 16. Lincoln Ellsworth and his pilot are rescued from Little America in the Antarctic, where they took refuge after crossing the Antarctic continent by airplane. January 20. King George V dies. His eldest son succeeds as Edward VIII. January 22. President Roosevelt vetoes the bill for immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus. The act is passed over his veto. February 16. In Spain, Liberals and Leftists win the election. February 19. Azaña becomes Spanish Premier. March 7. German troops move into the Rhineland, which the Treaty of Versailles demilitarized. March 25. The United States, Britain and France sign a new naval treaty at London. March 29. A German plebiscite approves Hitler's policies. April 28. King Fuad of Egypt dies. His son comes to the throne as Farouk I. May 2. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia flees as Italian armies near his capital. May 3. The "Peoples' Front" wins the French elections. May 10. Manuel Azaña is chosen President of Spain. May 16. Italy announces the annexation of Ethiopia. June 1. The United States Supreme Court declares the New York State Minimum Wage Law for women and children unconstitutional, thus leaving neither State nor Federal government the power to enact a law of this nature. June 4. Leon Blum, Jew and Socialist, heads the first Socialist government in France. June 9. The Republican National Convention opens at Cleveland, Ohio. June 11.

*Edward
VIII
succeeds to
the throne.*

*German
troops
occupy the
Rhineland.*

*Italy
annexes
Ethiopia.*

Alfred M. Landon is named Republican candidate for the Presidency. June 12. Colonel Frank Knox is Republican candidate for Vice-President. June 23. The Democratic National Convention opens at Philadelphia. June 27. President Roosevelt and Vice-President Garner are renominated by acclamation.]

*Candidates
for the
President.*

REVOLT IN SPAIN

(A.D. 1936)

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

TONIGHT Spain is entering the fourth week of one of the bloodiest civil wars in modern history. *Outbreak of civil war in Spain.* The rebels led by General Franco claim they are fighting for the traditions of Spain and against Communism; while the government claims it is upholding the social and political ideals of the Republic. Five years ago Spain overthrew the monarchy and has since been attempting to solve acute social problems by democratic means. Last February the Liberal and Left parties won the majority in the elections, and they have governed the country through a so-called Popular Front. But this government has been marked by growing disunity. The Socialists have refused to participate in the Cabinet, which has been controlled by Left Republicans, and the radical groups have been divided into warring factions; *Radical groups divided into factions.* the Conservative Socialists led by Prieto, the extremists led by Largo Caballero, and the Communists proper. In

Radio address over the network of the National Broadcasting Company, August 16, 1936. Included by permission of the author.

*Strikes
and
political
murders.*

*Revolt
inaugurated
by army
officers.*

*International com-
plications.*

addition, thousands of workers who believe in revolution through general strikes have been organized in an anarchist movement. Largely as a result of these divisions, the government headed by President Azaña failed to cope with a series of strikes which almost disorganized economic life and to prevent a series of political murders committed by both Socialists and Fascists. Disgusted by growing disorder and fearing that Communism was coming to dominate Spain, a strong group of army officers inaugurated its revolt on July 17th. Since then fighting has continued with unabated fury and 35,000 people have been killed. The government has armed the workers in a Marxist militia which is fighting with reckless determination. Both sides are executing prisoners, and workers are burning churches, banks, property, and massacring property owners, priests and nuns. No one knows what the outcome of this revolt will be, but it seems certain that, whatever the result, parliamentary institutions and democratic liberties are doomed. In Spain the contest is reducing itself to a struggle between two extreme forms of dictatorship: Fascism vs. Communism. The struggle is more than domestic; it threatens to become international. Behind General Franco loom the military planes of Fascist Italy and the warships of Nazi Germany. Behind the Spanish workers loom the Popular Front of France and the masses of Moscow, who are raising a fund of 40 million dollars to aid the Spanish Communists.

Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy hope that the Spanish rebels will win. The creation of a Fascist state in Spain would be a blow to democracy throughout the whole of Europe. It is reported that General Franco in return for support has offered air bases to both Mussolini and Hitler on Spanish territory. But neither France nor Britain can allow Spain thus to become a puppet of Fascist powers. France has proposed an international treaty under which the European powers will promise to keep their hands off Spain. If the European powers can get together upon such a treaty and thus localize the Spanish problem, there is a chance that they may be able to solve other fundamental problems by peaceful negotiation. But if this effort fails, the civil war in Spain may be the spark which speeds the fire of a civil war throughout Europe.

German and Italian support of Franco.

Germany is Europe's fundamental problem.

While Spain constitutes an immediate danger point, the fundamental problem of Europe today is Germany. For nearly three years this country also has been undergoing a social revolution. Under Adolf Hitler, Communism has been ruthlessly suppressed in favor of the totalitarian Nazi state. In their desire for security the German people have acquiesced in the loss of economic and political freedom and have accepted a regimented dictatorship. As in the case of Spain, the revolution in Germany is not only of internal but international importance. The suppression of parliamentary institutions and individual rights has come as a shock to the outside world. Since the Nazis took power, Germany, a proud and sensitive

*The
Rhineland
re-fortified.*

nation, has not hesitated to tear up the one-sided restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles. Despite this treaty Germany today has restored compulsory military service and is building up a modern army of six hundred thousand men. In defiance of the famous Locarno pact of 1925 Germany has sent troops into the demilitarized Rhineland area and, according to reports, is erecting fortifications there which will prevent France from giving effective aid to its allies in Central Europe.

The Germans contend that their only wish is to achieve a position of equality in Europe and secure the right to live. The outside world fears, however, that the new Germany, which is a huge dynamo of energy, desires to carry out the old Pan-German idea of dominating Central Europe and the Balkans, and the new Nazi idea of the racial unity of all Germans, and the forceful seizure of Russian territory. To accomplish this end Hitler is pursuing four policies:

*Hitler's
military
policies.*

(1) He is building what will probably be the strongest army in Europe. Composed of magnificent physical specimens, the youth of Germany is being infused with a sense of confidence in their country and themselves, and is being trained in a life of daring which is foreign to the pacifist democratic countries. This year Germany is expending the stupendous sum of four billion dollars on military expenditures—19 per cent of its national income.

(2) Nazi propaganda is carrying on a virulent campaign among the German minorities of many European

countries. They are attempting to gain control of governments by intimidation and bribery. Today Fascist propaganda is a more serious international problem than Communist propaganda.

(3) Germany is carrying on a campaign of economic penetration in Central Europe and the Balkans. Through means of barter agreements Dr. Schacht is buying raw materials from countries which hitherto have depended on Britain and France. Already Germany dominates the trade of Austria, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

*Economic
successes of
Germany.*

(4) Hitler is attempting to break down the wall of isolation built around Germany by France following the World War. This wall consists of alliances between France and Poland and Belgium; between France and the three Little Entente states of Central Europe; and between France and Russia. More than a year ago France brought into existence the Stresa front against Germany, composed not only of France but of Italy and Britain. By skillful diplomacy Hitler has already succeeded in breaking through these combinations. Two years ago he made a friendship agreement with Poland, promising not to go to war for ten years over Danzig and the Polish corridor. Since then Poland has been friendly with Germany, and has moved away from its alliance with France. Secondly, Hitler has recently come to terms with Mussolini. The most important obstacle to agreement has been Hitler's design on the little country of Austria. Although inhabited by Germans, Austria occupies such a

*Diplomatic
victories of
Hitler.*

How Hitler's domination may affect Italy.

strategic position that if Germany succeeds in obtaining Austria it will be comparatively easy to undermine the remaining states of Central Europe. Once in Austria, Hitler would sooner or later try to get back from Italy the German population of the Tyrol. Should Hitler come to dominate Austria and Central Europe, Italy might be reduced to the position of a second rate power. On the other hand, Hitler feared that Italy, following the end of the Ethiopian War, would rejoin France and Britain in her anti-German bloc. To prevent this from happening he made an agreement promising to give up his efforts to seize Austria by force. In return Mussolini has virtually promised to see to it that Germany gets a square deal from Britain, France and Russia. Thus Germany has made two friends—Poland and Italy. Nevertheless, Hitler may find it hard to keep these friendships if the Nazis gain control of either Danzig or Austria. The peace of Europe remains precarious, but it is by no means certain that Germany will succeed in dominating the continent.

The Fascist attitude toward war.

Europe's third problem is Italy. All of us know that since the War Italy has been governed by a Fascist dictatorship, which in certain respects is similar to the regimentation in Germany. Fascism preaches that pacifists are cowards and that war is noble. Such doctrines help to hide underlying economic difficulties. Like Germany, Italy suffers from lack of raw materials and foreign trade. After the World War the League of Na-

tions did nothing to bring about the redistribution of raw materials, and during the world depression the economic situation of Italy grew steadily worse. The result was that Mussolini finally went to war and conquered Ethiopia, despite the protests of people all over the world and the limited boycott imposed by the League of Nations. Mussolini's success in Ethiopia has given the League a terrific blow and has injured the position of Great Britain. Some people fear that, following the example of Japan, Italy will use Ethiopia as a base for further conquests. Mussolini dreams of driving Britain and France out of the Mediterranean and converting it into an Italian lake. Should he attempt to realize this dream Britain would have to strike back or acquiesce in the destruction of its Empire.

Possible objectives of Mussolini.

Thus Europe today is confronted by two powers which are being driven by internal forces down the dangerous road of foreign expansion. Germany threatens to expand in Central Europe and Russia; Italy threatens to expand throughout North Africa, the Near East and the Mediterranean. Will these two powers form an alliance with each other and, possibly with Japan, go to war to realize parallel objectives?

Three powers that demand expansion.

These Fascist states are dominated not only by territorial ambitions but by the fervor of crusading ideas. Disliking the capitalistic liberalism of the past, disliking Communism even more, these states would like to see the extension of Fascism everywhere. The support which

Aims in Fascist and Nazi support of Franco.

they have recently given to General Franco in Spain may be the beginning of a crusade similar to that waged by the French Revolution throughout Europe after the battle of Valmy in 1792.

*German-
Italian
alliance
possible.*

Although it is possible that a German-Italian alliance may be made, for the moment such an alliance for new aggression is blocked by two obstacles. In the first place, the interests of Mussolini and Hitler conflict in Central Europe. The power of Italy would be seriously reduced if Hitler were installed either in Austria or Yugoslavia. Secondly, Italy is in no position to risk a general war in Europe; Mussolini has succeeded in winning a victory over Ethiopia and the League of Nations, but in the process he has lost nearly half of his gold and much of his foreign trade. Today Italy is confronted by the difficult task of pacifying and developing Ethiopia. A general war might drastically weaken Italy. If Mussolini is wise he will not risk a fight with anybody his equal.

*Italy's
handicaps.*

Whether or not the Fascist states succeed in dominating Europe and Africa depends upon the resistance offered by the three opposing powers—France, Britain and Russia. Why did these three great powers fail to oppose effectively Hitler's treaty violations and Mussolini's war in Ethiopia? Under the League of Nations these powers should have taken the lead in organizing economic and military action against such illegal acts. So far they have failed to do so because none is willing to run the risk of war to stop acts on the part of the Fascist

*Why
resistance
has been
weak.*

states which do not affect so-called vital interests. None of these powers believes in the League strongly enough to take the same risk that Hitler or Mussolini is willing to take. This unwillingness is due partly to pacifism and partly to a secret realization that the present efforts of Germany and Italy to expand are a duplication of past efforts of Britain, France and the United States. Had the League members and the United States been willing to make peaceful concessions so that Germany and Italy could meet their economic problems by legitimate international trade, the excuse for aggression might have been removed. But while clamoring loudly for peace, none of the "have" powers has been willing to make any substantial economic concessions to the "have-not" countries. *Possible efficacy of economic concessions.*

Although the early treaty violations of the Fascist states did not seem to affect any vital interests of other great powers, France, Russia and Britain have finally become aroused. Since June, France has been governed by a Socialist government under Léon Blum, who has abandoned the pro-Italian policy of Mr. Laval and has adopted a strong League policy. At the same time France is clinging more strongly than ever to its alliances with separate powers. *Course of the French government.*

Nevertheless, so long as the Blum cabinet does not solve its internal problem the international position of France will be weak. The government has adopted much-needed social legislation; it has placed the Bank of France under government control and nationalized

the munitions industry. But so far it has failed to solve the all-important problem of finance. France today still clings to the gold standard when every other great power has abandoned it. Prices are high. An American in Paris today has to pay about \$2 for a meal. Consequently, France has lost most of its tourists and a large part of its foreign trade. Meanwhile, Blum's social legislation has increased French cost of production. The most simple solution would be for France to devalue, which means lowering the gold value of the French currency probably to the British level. But devaluation remains unpopular and Mr. Blum is afraid to move. There is a danger that financial matters will go from bad to worse, and that particularly if the Fascists win in Spain a severe reaction will take place in France against the Popular Front government.

Fear of reaction in France.

A second power which blocks Fascist expansion is Soviet Russia. This Communist power lives in fear of a combined attack of Japan and Germany, both of which hate Communism. To obtain outside support against such attack, Russia has joined the League of Nations, made alliances with France and Czechoslovakia and seemingly dropped its former support of worldwide Communist propaganda. With the breakdown of the League in the Ethiopian dispute, Russia has intensified its military preparations, its army has increased from 560,000 men in 1933 to 1,300,000 in 1936, which is the largest in the world. Today Russia feels strong enough to

Military strength of Russia.

resist attack both on its eastern and western fronts, although as yet it is hardly in a position to extend aid either to France or Czechoslovakia.

The final power supposedly in the anti-Fascist camp is Great Britain. The failure of the British pro-League policy in the Ethiopian War has, for the time being, produced a severe reaction in Britain against any European commitments except along the Rhine and in favor of a vast rearmament program. Today Britain is feverishly building up its navy, its air force and its army. During the next three years more military planes will be delivered to the air ministry than in the entire seventeen years since the end of the war. Military appropriations will come to a total of about a billion dollars, which, however, are still far below the military appropriations of either Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany.

*England's
vast rearmament program.*

In view of the vast armaments of the other powers Britain must rearm or submit to the dissolution of its empire. But the vital question confronting the world is whether Britain will make use of its new force to return to its pre-war policy of splendid isolation or to rebuild a new League. A part of the Conservative party, which controls the government at present, is pro-German and anti-Soviet. These conservatives believe that Germany should be given a free hand in Central Europe and assert that Britain would not be affected if Germany and Russia attempted to kill each other off. The other section of British opinion, represented in part by the Labor

*Conflicting
opinions of
Britons.*

party, believes that a return to splendid isolation means a policy of drift which inevitably would drive England into another imperialistic war. These Englishmen favor increased armament only if Britain will stand with France and Russia in an effort to build up a real League representing democratic and socialist powers.

Thus it appears that Italy and England hold the strategic position on the European checkerboard, and if these governments can settle their own differences they undoubtedly will be in a position to bring back Hitler into the concert of Europe and thus avert war. To do so, however, the *status quo* powers must be willing to relieve the economic situation of Germany and to strike out the humiliating and punitive provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Mussolini believes in settling the differences of Europe through a pact of the six great powers. A conference to discuss this question may be held this Fall. But if any conference is to succeed the democratic, Fascist and Communist powers in Europe must compromise differences that now seem irreconcilable. Consequently, some observers predict that a new general war in Europe is sooner or later inevitable.

While this pessimistic conclusion is not necessarily correct, Spain and many other European countries are undergoing a social revolution and the whole continent is threatened by the fear of a new war. What is the meaning of these events to America?

*Italy and
England
are in strate-
gic positions.*

*Social
revolution
in various
countries.*

First, if this land is to escape the social ravages which have swept across European countries during the last twenty years, we must admit the existence of our social problems and determine to solve them in a spirit of compromise, democracy and intelligence rather than in a spirit of class struggle and arbitrary force. It is encouraging to find that both the Republican and Democratic platforms seem to admit this necessity and that both parties have nominated Presidential candidates who cannot be accused of having Fascist sympathies.

Nevertheless, America has failed so far to solve grave economic and political problems. We still have about 11 million unemployed and 20 million on relief. We are confronted by a formidable government deficit and the dangers inherent in an overabundance of cheap money. At present there is a popular outcry against monopoly, but there is no agreement as to what should be done with the problem of large-scale production. We have enacted social security legislation which contains so many defects that it may prove unworkable. Government subsidies have kept alive the farmers in the South and West, but little of a fundamental nature has been done to bring about agrarian reform in the South, to solve the problem of drought and soil erosion in the West, or to establish foreign markets for agriculture. There is a danger that the present recovery may produce inflation and be followed by a new collapse.

*America
has grave
problems at
home.*

From the political standpoint, the American govern-

ment does not command the respect and prestige which is necessary if a democracy is adequately to meet the issues of a changing economy. America is the only great country in the world having a Constitution which virtually forbids the government to regulate the national economy. Not only must this Constitutional problem be solved, but confidence needs to be established in the integrity and continuity of government administration and in the intelligence and sincerity of political leaders.

In view of its still vast reserves America has more time in which to meet its problems than have other states such as Spain. Judging by European experience, America can maintain its tradition of equality and liberty only by an intelligent middle-class leadership which recognizes that the solution of social problems can be left neither to blind chance, to ignorant demagogues, nor to extremist revolutionaries. Already danger signals are flying in the air. On the one extreme are those who promise all things to all men; on the other are the reactionaries who believe they can return to the ways of the past and who denounce those who propose social change as "Communists" and "atheists." America will be saved from the social struggle now devastating Spain if the middle classes will organize a truly democratic movement willing to compromise sectional and class differences in favor of a real national point of view.

Secondly, recent events demonstrate that America is in danger of being drawn into a new European war should

*Intelligent
leadership
America's
great need.*

it last any length of time. Despite the present wave of isolationism and pacifism, there are at least three reasons why America will find it difficult to keep out of war if and when it comes. *War dangers threaten.*

First, the debates in the last Congress show that few Americans are willing to sacrifice foreign trade and other interests—which is necessary if a program of real isolation is carried out. *Why isolation is difficult for America.*

Second, in view of the American belief in the principles of democracy and liberty, a strong demand will arise in many circles in favor of America's entrance on the side of democratic powers, should they reach the point of being overwhelmed in a war by Fascist opponents.

Third, an even larger number of Americans will probably come to believe that if the Fascist states and Japan succeed in dominating Europe and the Orient these states will inevitably turn greedy eyes upon the Western Hemisphere—Latin America, the Caribbean and even Canada—and thus injure the vital interests of the United States. From this standpoint, the British Empire and, to a lesser extent, France constitute our first line of defense. Should this line crumble, many Americans would demand entry into the war as a measure of self-preservation. *Fascist states believed to be dangerous.*

Thus it is unlikely that the United States will be able to keep out of a new European war very long. If this is true, the only course of wisdom is to assist in prevent-

*Methods of
preventing
world war.*

ing war from breaking out. The United States has had many opportunities to render such assistance in the past, which it has refused to accept; and there is no reason to believe that it will now take any initiative in solving the international problem which is steadily increasing in difficulty.

Nevertheless, this country can make three contributions which remain within the realm of practical politics.

*Diplomatic
cooperation.*

(1) We can utilize the prestige and power arising out of our increasing armaments on behalf of a diplomatic policy of supporting peace and international law, both in Europe and the Orient through cooperation with other likeminded powers.

*Secretary
Hull's
efforts.*

(2) We can continue and intensify Secretary Hull's splendid effort to bring about carefully planned tariff reduction through reciprocity treaties, and after the elections we can offer to enter an agreement provisionally stabilizing currency and take other economic and financial steps—thus assisting in relieving international economic tensions which have produced political unrest.

(3) We can refrain from enacting any more stringent neutrality legislation, thus making it possible for the democratic powers to continue to buy raw materials in this market in case war comes.

Both President Hoover and President Roosevelt have realized that the United States can secure peace only by a policy of real international cooperation, but they have been consistently blocked by a so-called "isolationist"

sentiment in the Senate and throughout the country. It is a paradoxical fact that this sentiment, which is willing neither to withdraw from nor cooperate with the outside world will probably drag us into war when it comes. The American people can be sure of peace only if they are willing to think through its implications and demonstrate their willingness to make the immediate sacrifices necessary to bring into existence an orderly and friendly society of nations.

*Cooperation
or
isolation.*

[June 30, 1936. Haile Selassie addresses League of Nations, blaming it for not protecting Ethiopia from Italian conquest. July 4. The League of Nations declares debate on Ethiopia closed. July 15. Sanctions against Italy are ended. July 17. Revolt in the Spanish army in Morocco has spread to Spain. Turkey is granted the right to fortify the Dardanelles. July 19. Canton, China, is entered by forces of the Nanking government. Spanish foreign troops land at Cadiz, Spain. The Rebels take Cadiz, Seville and Saragossa, but fail in an attack on Madrid. July 25. Provisional government is set up by the Rebels in northern provinces of Spain. July 27. The Alcazar fortress at Toledo, Spain, held by Rebels, falls. July 28. The Spanish government confiscates the property of religious orders. August 1. The Eleventh Olympic Games open at Berlin, Germany. August 14. Soviet Russia indicts leading men as Trotskyists, charging that in exile Trotsky tries to head a revolution. September 27.

*Haile
Selassie
addresses
League of
Nations.*

*Turkey may
fortify the
Dardanelles.*

*Eleventh
Olympic
Games open
in Berlin.*

*General
Franco
proclaimed
dictator.*

General Franco's troops take Toledo, Spain. October 1. At Rebel headquarters, Burgos, Spain, General Franco is proclaimed dictator. October 9. Power from Boulder Dam lights the city of Los Angeles. October 14. King Leopold announces that Belgium no longer depends on alliances and resumes neutrality. November 3. Roosevelt and Garner are reelected, carrying all states except Maine and Vermont. November 7. The Spanish Loyalist government removes from Madrid to Valencia. November 14. Germany reassumes control of the Rhine, Elbe, Oder and Danube waterways.]

THE FAREWELL BROADCAST OF EDWARD VIII

(A.D. 1936)

PRINCE EDWARD

AT long last I am able to say a few words of my own. I have never wanted to withhold anything, but until now it has not been constitutionally possible for me to speak. A few hours ago I discharged my last duty as King and Emperor, and now that I have been succeeded by my brother, the Duke of York, my first words must be to declare my allegiance to him. This I do with all my heart. You all know the reasons which have impelled me to renounce the Throne. But I want you to understand that in making up my mind I did not forget the country or the Empire which as Prince of Wales, and lately as King, I have for twenty-five years tried to serve. But you must believe me when I tell you that I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as

The former King declares allegiance to George VI.

Radio broadcast of December 11, 1936, after abdication. The title of Duke of Windsor was granted the next day, December 12.

King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love. And I want you to know that the decision I have made has been mine and mine alone. This was a thing I had to judge entirely for myself. The other person most nearly concerned has tried up to the last to persuade me to take a different course. I have made this, the most serious decision of my life, only upon the single thought of what would, in the end, be best for all.

*Fitness of
the new
King for
the throne.*

This decision has been made less difficult to me by the sure knowledge that my brother, with his long training in the public affairs of this country and with his fine qualities, will be able to take my place forthwith without interruption or injury to the life and progress of the Empire. And he has one matchless blessing, enjoyed by so many of you, and not bestowed on me—a happy home with his wife and children.

During these hard days I have been comforted by Her Majesty my mother and by my family. The ministers of the crown, and in particular, Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, have always treated me with full consideration. There have never been any constitutional differences between me and them and between me and Parliament. Bred in the constitutional tradition by my father, I should never have allowed any such issue to arise.

Ever since I was Prince of Wales, and later on when I occupied the throne, I have been treated with the greatest kindness by all classes of the people wherever I have



KING GEORGE VI, NEWLY CROWNED, RECEIVES THE HOMAGE OF THE RANKING NOBLE, THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, AS PART OF THE CEREMONIES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY (*Page 344*)

PHOTOGRAPH FROM EUROPEAN



lived or journeyed throughout the Empire. For that I am very grateful.

I now quit altogether public affairs and I lay down my burden. It may be some time before I return to my native land, but I shall always follow the fortunes of the British race and Empire with profound interest, and if at any time in the future I can be found of service to His Majesty in a private station, I shall not fail.

And now, we all have a new King. I wish him and you, his people, happiness and prosperity with all my heart. God bless you all! God save the King!

[December 1, 1936. The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace opens at Buenos Aires. It is addressed by President Roosevelt. December 4. Stanley Baldwin, British Premier, declares in the House of Commons that an English King cannot contract a morganatic marriage. December 5. Soviet Russia, through the Congress of Soviets, adopts a new constitution. December 10. Edward VIII signs a message expressing his purpose to renounce the throne. December 11. Edward VIII assents to the bill of abdication passed by the British Parliament, and his reign, which began January 20, 1936, ends; the reign of his brother, now George VI, begins, 1:52 P.M., London time. December 12. David Windsor, the former Edward VIII, is made Duke of Windsor. In China, Chiang Kai-shek is seized by Chang Hsueh-liang. December 16. The Inter-American Conference for the

*Buenos
Aires
conference.*

*Chiang
Kai-shek
seized
but later
released.*

Maintenance of Peace, in session at Buenos Aires, adopts a convention for collective security. December 25. Chiang Kai-shek is released by his captors. January 2, 1937. Italy and British sign an agreement as to the Mediterranean. January 7. Juliana, Holland's Crown Princess, marries Prince Bernhard zu Lippe Biesterfeld of Germany. January 20. Inauguration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt for his second term as President takes place at Washington at noon. The new date replaces the former March 4.]

*Roosevelt's
second in-
auguration.*

FOUR YEARS OF HITLERISM

(A.D. 1937)

FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL

AT midnight on January 30, 1933, the Wilhelmstrasse, soberest and staidest of all Berlin's streets, was a madhouse of joyful enthusiasm. *The Nazis come into power.* Its sidewalks, from Unter den Linden to Leipzigerstrasse, were jammed to suffocation by cheering crowds.

The broad Wilhelmplatz opposite the Chancellery—then a normally quiet square with flagged pathways winding between picturesque flower beds grouped about statues of half-forgotten generals of the Napoleonic wars—was a solid block of humanity. People were massed there regardless of flower beds and everything else, singing, shouting, cheering, every face turned toward the brightly illuminated Chancellery, whose every window showed a group of heads.

Along the roadway, between densely crowded sidewalks, flowed a brown sea of torch-bearing Storm Troopers singing the most martial of their marching

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and *The New York Times*.

*Hitler
and his
lieutenants.*

songs, broken from time to time by deep-throated "heils" for the object of their adoration—Adolph Hitler. He stood there in a lower window of the Chancellery, drinking in the scene, his lieutenants at his side—Hermann Goering, not yet even Minister of Aviation, which as a military arm had not been sanctioned in Germany; and Josef Goebbels, chief of Nazi propaganda.

The leader had that day been appointed Chancellor of the Reich, with von Papen, who had engineered his appointment, as his Vice Chancellor, and a Cabinet in which Alfred Hugenberg and his Nationalists were to constitute a theoretical balance wheel to keep him within bounds.

*A request
for four
years of
power.*

In his initial declaration, preparatory to the election about to be called, Hitler asked for four years of power—four years in which to restore Germany to that front place among nations which she considered it her birth-right to occupy; four years in which to fulfill his grandiose plans for German prosperity, four years in which to make good the National Socialist slogan voicing the party promise: "Bread and work for all."

The cheering multitude, the parading Storm Troopers, already took that promise as certain of fulfillment—and indeed it has since been fulfilled—and their rejoicing was unabounded. A new golden era had opened. Unemployment and hardship were over. "Heil, Hitler! Heil the Third Reich! Heil the new epoch of work and bread, of prosperity and peace!"

At another and less brilliantly lighted window, behind the Chancellery's front garden, was grouped all that was honored in the old régime already passing away. There stood the venerable President von Hindenburg amid his own little band of chosen advisers—his son, Oscar, the veteran State Secretary Meissner, a general or two and one especially beloved protégé, Franz von Papen, the late Chancellor who had now become guardian in the Cabinet of interests it was not deemed politic to sacrifice. It was von Papen who had persuaded von Hindenburg to do this thing.

*President
von
Hindenburg
and the
passing
régime.*

Together they watched the initial effect, both apparently somewhat dazed by the flood they had unloosed, but little dreaming how soon it would sweep away all their puny safeguards, overwhelm their conservative organizations and carry their own ineffectual selves along until it left them stranded in shallows where they would be powerless to influence its course.

It is known now that von Hindenburg was then in his dotage, his once sturdy mentality clouded save for occasional bright periods ever growing rarer and more brief. It is realized also that von Papen was a political trickster caught in the grip of forces too mighty for him to comprehend, much less control. But these things were mere suspicions that night when Berlin from end to end was astir long after bedtime and the Wilhelmstrasse seethed under torches celebrating the end of an epoch and the opening of a new one.

*Beginning
of a new
epoch.*

That was four years ago. Much water has flowed under German bridges since and the Reich itself has been made over anew. Today, at the end of the period for which its new Chancellor and present absolute ruler then asked a mandate, a changed, soberer Germany faces the future, not without apprehension.

The four-year period expires.

True, unemployment has been wiped out and outright starvation has ceased. There is work for all and for all there is bread—even with infinitesimal portions of something called butter. But this seeming new prosperity is built upon a mountain of internal debt that is staggering to the nation that carries it. All German belts have been pulled tight to make Germany itself strong.

In a certain sense the new Reich is immensely strong. The question now is: What use will the Reich make of this strength acquired with so much travail and sacrifice? Will it be for peace, bringing prosperity in its train, or will still more sacrifices be demanded?

January 30, 1933, opened what has been in effect a counter-revolution, both in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, against the Liberal-Socialist revolution which followed the World War. Not until Hitler's arrival on the scene did the real post-war adjustments really begin. Within Germany they have taken the form of revolt against a democracy forced upon the German people by the victorious powers. Continentally it has been a revolution against the Versailles treaty, framed by the powers to maintain the democracy they had ordained and to

Counter-revolution and post-war adjustments.

keep Germany in leading strings. Both counter-revolutions have been crowned with success.

In both fields the central factor in bringing about this change has been military—namely, the rearmament of Germany. It dominates the domestic scene, dictates domestic policies, frames economic laws and has changed the whole German mode of life. The favorite catch-words—"military economy," "regimentation," "discipline" and their like, all taken from military terminology—indicate this.

*Rearmament
of Germany
and its
effects.*

Although in the beginning the process was obscure because it was veiled by the Aryan racial illusion and its attendant anti-Semitism, with other outcroppings of National Socialist ideology, Germany in all fields runs today on the military principle of unquestioning obedience to command. The democratic and parliamentary system of government has been replaced by the "Fuehrer" principle, which means that one man leads and all others follow. Theirs is not to reason why, but merely to do as they are told, even if they die in the doing.

Any idea that this is in any sense a German capitalist revolution is dispelled by the acknowledged fact that regimentation, if only by reason of the exigencies of the economic situation, is now beginning to reach the great industrialists, to whom Hitler and his chief executive, Goering, are dictating the law as much as to workers and little shopkeepers.

*Law dic-
tated to
great
industrial-
ists.*

*A military
counter-
revolution
in Germany.*

This is military counter-revolution pure and simple, as against the ideas of disarmament, pacifism, the brotherhood of man and kindred notions brought to Germany after the war by humanistic and liberalistic elements which then thought they saw a chance of building a new and peace-loving Europe, of which the Reich would be the center and inspiration.

It is a different picture they see four years after Hitler's coming. Germany today again demands her "place in the sun" and stands in shining armor to fight for it. Again the German Army is becoming, if it has not become, the strongest in Europe, and 68,000,000 Germans—men, women and children—are being organized to stand behind it with their lives and possessions, steeled to endure any privations which that undertaking may entail.

*Strength
and effi-
ciency of the
German
Army.*

Every other manifestation of National Socialism is essentially a side issue designed either to promote or to disguise this central aim of a militarily powerful Germany. Naturally, however, the effect of such an aim and of the methods adopted to attain it is not confined to the Reich alone. It has already produced what amounts to revolution, military, political and economic, throughout Europe.

With the German Army again approaching, if not excelling, the status of the pre-war army—which means that if it is not the biggest, it will be the most efficient and effective in the world—the military map of Europe

has been completely changed. The center of gravity, in a military sense, has shifted from Paris to Berlin, forcing the political reorientation of the little States of Eastern Europe and precipitating an armament race unprecedented in world history.

How stupendous this armament race already has become is shown by figures published in Germany itself. The total amount being expended annually upon armament throughout the world, according to these figures, has now risen from approximately 10,000,000,000 marks in 1913 to between 30,000,000,000 and 35,000,000,000 marks last year. According to best estimates, the German total of expenditures in the last four years has been 30,000,000,000 marks, of which 20,000,000,000 have been spent exclusively for armament. Yet Germany in immediately available resources was among the poorest of nations, according to her own story, when Hitler came to power. She is certainly just as badly off now, if her economic restrictions are any criterion.

The stupendous armament race in Europe.

Thus, not only Germany but all the rest of Europe, is carrying a back-breaking, uneconomic burden of armaments which weigh heavily upon the standard of living everywhere. It is a burden that has slowed the process of economic rehabilitation and keeps the nations at a tension which may snap at any time.

Politically, Germany's military counter-revolution has brought about virtual collapse of the League of Nations and the ideals founded upon it. It is a collapse so com-

Virtual collapse of the League of Nations.

plete that the League has had to be excluded from efforts to solve the most burning question in Europe—the Spanish civil war—lest even what still remains at Geneva shall be swept away. It has brought about the Franco-Soviet pact, which opens the road to Bolshevik influence in Western Europe. It has brought together again Britain and France in a relation which reestablishes in almost identical form the Triple Entente of pre-war days, reinforced by the adhesion of Czechoslovakia and the tacit support of Rumania and Yugoslavia.

*A return to
the Triple
Entente.*

On the other hand, the same influences have broken the solid front of the war victors, last manifested in the Stresa conference. Instead appear a united Germany and Italy as the nucleus of a Fascist bloc which Germany has succeeded in extending even to the Orient, taking in Japan. This bloc has still to stand the test of real strain, but for immediate purposes it seems to be working satisfactorily. It has given a tremendous impetus to the Fascist movement in minor countries, notably in Spain, Portugal and some Balkan States.

*Nucleus of
a Fascist
bloc.*

On the whole, therefore, despite deprecations from London and some of the few remaining democratic strongholds. Europe is in a fair way to dividing itself into rival alliances of fascism and socialism with a strong flavor of communism in the latter. Almost the only redeeming feature of the present prospect is that some of the little States in Central and Eastern Europe are moving toward some sort of cooperation which would save

*Fascism,
Socialism
and Com-
munism.*

them from becoming mere pawns in the manoeuvres of the bigger powers.

Economically, German rearmament and its huge requirements of the world's raw materials, together with the imperative need for wartime self-sufficiency inherent in the idea of military economics, have practically detached the Reich from the rest of the world, thereby forcing a general readjustment, the consequences of which cannot yet be foreseen.

Certainly the German example, especially in the line of war economy, has visibly begun to affect the economies of other countries. Some already have been compelled to follow suit within the limits of their own systems. In Great Britain it is called "industrial mobilization." But it is the same thing in principle.

Thus the waves of the German political revolution, more and more intensified during the last four years, have spread until they have affected the whole Continent. Hitler, the scorned Nazi agitator of four years ago, has made himself the biggest single factor in the international situation today. His achievements have been tremendous, whether looked at from the internal or the international point of view. But so also has been the cost. It has strained German financial and economic resources to the limit. It has lowered the German standard of living. Even now, after four years in which it has sought to reach the solid ground of economic safety, it is causing food shortages and substitutions of materials which any

The German example affects other countries.

Standard of living is lowered.

other nation would find inexcusable and insupportable in time of peace.

*Increasing
strain on
domestic
economy.*

Whether Germany will continue to bear such a load remains to be demonstrated. The strain upon her domestic economy is becoming more intense rather than diminishing. Nor is any amelioration in sight. Her financial reserves have reached the vanishing point, yet her rulers scorn to modify their course for the sake of *modus vivendi* with the rest of the world. It sounds well to proclaim that the new Reich will not consent to renounce its birthright for a mess of pottage, but if that slogan is to be maintained, the German belt must not be drawn much tighter. Pottage is beginning to look very attractive.

*Justified fear
for the
future.*

There is another consideration which arouses a certain amount of justified fear. If in merely preparing for conquest of her place in the sun Germany is to expend all her reserves, what will be left for the hard test of its actual attainment? The National Socialist régime has demonstrated in the last four years the fact that economic laws, if they cannot be abolished, can certainly be suspended for a period. How long that period can be extended—especially whether it can be extended indefinitely—is another question. But in the answer to it lies the key to the future.

Small wonder, then, that the German people approach this anniversary soberly and not over-demonstratively. One looks back to the wild enthusiasm of that night four years ago, and in contrast one finds today a very differ-

ent picture. The singing, shouting and torchlights have given place to grim determination to endure, if endurance is not stretched out too long. But waiting cannot be indefinite. Soon must come relief, or all Europe may feel a resultant shock from compression overprolonged.

[January 23, 1937. Karl Radek (journalist) and sixteen other defendants are tried in Moscow on a charge of conspiracy against the Soviet government. All confess. Radek and four others receive prison sentences. The rest are condemned to death. January 30. Adolf Hitler, at the 4th anniversary of Nazi assumption of power in Germany, declares Germany free from the obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty. February 5. President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, asks power to enlarge the Supreme Court from nine to fifteen judges, unless vacancies are made by the resignation of judges, who reach the age of 70. Other changes were asked for lower courts. March 29. The Supreme Court finds the Washington minimum wage law for women constitutional, reversing its 1936 ruling in connection with the New York State law for women and children. April 19. General Franco establishes a one-party fascist type of government in the Spanish regions under his control. May 1. The President signs the Neutrality Bill, prohibiting the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerent powers. May 6. The great German dirigible *Hindenburg*, which has been making regular trips between Germany and

*Conspiracy
trials in
Moscow.*

*Neutrality
Bill is
signed.*

*The "Hin-
denburg"
is destroyed.*

the United States, explodes and burns when approaching its mooring at Lakehurst, N. J. Thirty-six of ninety-seven persons aboard lose their lives. May 12. George VI is crowned King of Great Britain at Westminster Abbey. May 23. John Davison Rockefeller, Sr., dies at 97. May 28. In England Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin resigns, and Neville Chamberlain becomes Prime Minister. June 19. Spanish Rebels occupy Bilboa. In France, the Leon Blum cabinet falls, and Camille Chautemps heads a new government. June 25. France ratifies the Naval Treaty of London (1936). August 15. Japanese warships shell the Shanghai defenses. August 25. The Japanese attempt a partial blockade of China's coast. October 13. Germany promises to respect Belgium's neutrality. October 18. President Quezon urges Philippine independence for 1939. November 10. A new constitution goes into effect in Brazil. December 13. Japanese airplanes sink the United States gunboat *Panay* on the Yangtse river. December 25. Japan declares punishment has been dealt out for the sinking of the *Panay*. Full indemnity will be paid.

January 1, 1938. Mexico ends her oil pact with the United States. March 11. German troops mass on the Austrian border. Nazis seize control in Austria. March 12. Hitler and German troops enter Austria. March 13. Austria is declared a part of Germany. March 17. Poles threaten to invade Lithuania. March 19. In Mexico oil

*Neville
Chamberlain
becomes
Prime
Minister.*

*Sinking
of the
American
gunboat
Panay.*

*Hitler
annexes
Austria.*

workers take over United States and British oil properties. March 19. Lithuania makes peace with Poland by acceding to her demands. The United States gives the new situation in Austria "de facto" recognition. April 15. Rebels cut Loyalist Spain in two and reach the sea-coast. April 16. An Anglo-Italian pact relating to control of the Mediterranean is signed. April 25. A demand by Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, that the country accept German leadership is refused. April 27. It is announced that Jewish property in Germany will be Aryanized and confiscated. May 7. Mussolini and Hitler pledge friendship in Rome. May 13. Mexico recalls her minister to Great Britain as an outcome of the dispute over oil properties. July 18. Dowager Queen Marie of Rumania dies. August 18. President Roosevelt on a visit to Toronto, declares that the United States will support Canada in any aggression of Canadian shores. September 15. At Berchtesgaden, Prime Minister Chamberlain confers with Hitler on the Sudeten question. September 20. Britain and France ask Czechoslovakia to cede her Sudeten areas to Germany. September 23. The conference between Chamberlain and Hitler on the Czechoslovakia question is resumed at Godesberg.]

*Jewish
property in
Germany to
be confiscated.*

*Sudeten
question.*

NAZI EYES TURN EAST

(A.D. 1938)

HENRY C. WOLFE

THE republic of Czechoslovakia has become the key to Central Europe. This landlocked state which Bismarck called "a fortress erected by God" in the heart of Europe is democracy's first line of defense against the Nazi thrust down the Danube. Indeed, we might say democracy's only line of defense. Its political and strategic importance can hardly be over-emphasized. The Iron Chancellor went so far as to say that "whoever is master of Bohemia is master of Europe."

*Czechoslovakia's
military
importance.*

If the Third Reich can destroy the Czechoslovak democracy, the road will be open for the rapid Nazi drive down the Danube into Hungary, into Rumania and Bulgaria, into Greece, and toward the Golden Horn. The oil which Germany needs so desperately for its industrial and military machines, the grain, meat, and dairy products that it must have to feed its expanding popula-

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tion, the timber, iron ore, and copper essential for its economic self-sufficiency—all these will be within reach once Czechoslovakia is conquered. Bohemia is the first objective of the Nazi *Drang nach Osten*.

That Hitler has turned his eyes definitely to the East is certain. He has taken a defensive position on the Rhine, an offensive position on the Danube, the Niemen, the Vistula. One of the first moves in the push to the East is to isolate Czechoslovakia. A significant step toward that end was taken when Hitler declared last January that the Reich would respect Holland's territorial integrity. In February the Führer followed that declaration by an interview with Edmund Schultess, former president of the Swiss Federal Council, in which he said that "Switzerland's existence is a European necessity" and that Germany would respect Swiss neutrality. But the longest stride was taken just recently, on October 13, when the Reich formally guaranteed the territorial integrity and neutrality of Belgium. Germany would conciliate British opinion by promising to let the Low Countries alone. The motives behind these three declarations were the same—the Reich's desire to narrow its military front in the West, to hamstring France, and to reassure Britain.

Remilitarization of the Rhineland and the new agreement with Belgium have vastly enhanced German defensive power along the western frontier. The Nazis can boast that the French army is a "prisoner in its own

*Hitler's
offensive
position in
Europe.*

*German
diplomacy
on the West.*

country." Many observers agree that developments of the past two years make the French task of supporting Czechoslovakia an enormous problem. Franco's appearance on the Pyrenees frontier and Mussolini's belligerence in the Mediterranean complicate French military problems and play into the hands of Hitler. They aid the Third Reich's push to the East.

Hitler's relations with France combine assurances and threats. On September 5 Rudolph Hess, the Führer's deputy, banned the old German marching song, "Victorious we will defeat France!" This was an obvious move to allay French suspicions of Nazi Germany. At the same time Nazi agents in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Syria were stirring up unrest against French authority. While Hitler assures France that it has nothing to fear from the Reich, Goering builds up his huge air fleet as a menace to Paris.

*Nazi agents
in French
possessions.*

The anti-Communist pact signed by Germany and Japan on November 25, 1936, was another important maneuver in the Nazi strategy to isolate Czechoslovakia. Still another was the creation of the Berlin-Rome axis. German-Italian efforts to weaken the Little Entente, to paralyze the Rumanian government, to drive a wedge between Prague and Belgrade, were all moves in the grand offensive which the Reich is preparing against Central Europe's "island of democracy." When Mussolini paid a state visit to Germany in September, more was involved than a theatrical welcome that might have

*Moves to
isolate
Czecho-
slovakia.*

warmed the heart of a Roman Caesar. Behind the cheering throngs and military reviews *Realpolitik* was dividing Europe into fascist spheres of influence. Czechoslovakia was being allotted to the Reich; the Duce was receiving his *quid pro quo* in Spain.

As the Czechs have a mutual-assistance pact with the Soviet Union, one of the moves in isolating Czechoslovakia has been the effort to cut off the possible aid from the U.S.S.R. Here Japan's ambitious policies on the Asiatic mainland have served the Reich by forcing Moscow to concentrate its attention on the Far Eastern front. Moreover, by the terms of the Berlin-Tokyo pact both governments are bound to "take strict measures against those who, at home or abroad, directly or indirectly, are active in the service of the Communist International or lend a helping hand to its disruptive work." Whenever, therefore, the Reich decides to "put down communism" in Czechoslovakia, Japan is bound by this pact to support the move by diverting the Soviet's strength from their Central European ally.

Diplomats and political agents of the Third Reich have been working skilfully in Europe, Asia, and Africa to destroy League authority, to sabotage security pacts, to detach Prague's allies. Five days after the new German pledge to respect Belgium's neutrality, the coordinated Nazi press launched a violent attack on Czechoslovakia. With Europe's attention concentrated in Spain and China, the Reich felt that the time was ripe for an "in-

Japanese
policies and
Germany.

Skilful work
of German
agents.

cident" in Bohemia. The "incident" was staged on October 17 at Teplitz-Schönau, in the area occupied by Sudeten Germans. It is fairly clear from the riotous actions of the Henlein followers and their provocative attitude toward the Czech authorities that the affair was planned by the Nazis. Henlein and his followers are so well disciplined that any serious demonstration would not be made without the approval of the men in Berlin who are directing Sudetendeutsch political activities.

Henlein and his followers.

A German clash with Czechoslovakia just at this time serves a number of Nazi purposes. It acts as a gauge for measuring the probable degree of French and Russian opposition to German designs against the Czechs. It tests the strength of Czech resistance to the Reich's demands. Most important of all, it may frustrate the "Hodza plan," a scheme of Vienna and Prague to create a Danubian confederation consisting of five or more nations as an anti-Nazi barricade. When the Nazi press thunders at Czechoslovakia and denounces a "barbarous provocation" that the Reich "does not propose to tolerate," the purpose is not merely to impress the German public and Prague officialdom. A threat is also intended for the men who direct the foreign policies of Austria, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Warning is given these governments that ties with Czechoslovakia are a distinct liability, that an alliance with Prague will bring them into conflict with the Third Reich.

Threatening warnings from the Reich.

Konrad Henlein recently wrote a bold letter to Presi-

dent Benes demanding immediate autonomy for the German-speaking districts of Czechoslovakia. Failure to grant this demand, Herr Henlein warned, would endanger not only the internal peace of Czechoslovakia but the peace of all Europe. As the "Fuhrer of Sudetenland," Henlein claims to speak for the three and a half million Teutons in Czechoslovakia, nearly 25 per cent of the republic's population. About a third of the Sudeten Germans, however, are opposed to National Socialism. This year three small German activist parties—the Christian Socialists, the Social Democrats, and the Agrarians—joined hands with the Czechoslovak government. They are definitely anti-Nazi.

The contiguity of Sudetenland with the German frontier makes contact between the Reich Nazis and Henlein's Nazis a simple matter. At the same time the presence of large numbers of Nazis inside their frontier renders the Czech's defense problem extremely difficult. Whenever Berlin's rulers decide that the time has come for military intervention in Bohemia, all the human material is on hand for a Henlein explosion that will start a Nazi putsch. The boast of the Reich press that "the Sudeten Germans know that the whole German nation is behind them" does not contribute to unity in Bohemia.

In August, 1936, President Benes told me that Czechoslovakia could have a non-aggression pact with Germany provided he was willing to break his pact with the Soviet Union and grant autonomy to the Teutonic districts. But

*Situation in
Czecho-
slovakia.*

*Autonomy
for
Sudetenland
suggested.*

the Czechs realize that such autonomy would be a Nazi wooden horse brought into their country, that it would be the beginning of the end of Czechoslovak independence. When the last "opposition" party in the free city of Danzig was dissolved by the Nazis on October 21, the Reich demonstrated in just what manner Sudetendeutsch autonomy would work.

When I talked with Dr. Alfred Rosenberg in his private office in Berlin on September 23, he dwelt on Germany's need for an *Absatzgebiet*, a territory that would form a reservoir of raw materials and an outlet for surplus population. The Reich, he said, had to have "colonies" that could not be cut off from Germany in case of war. When I reminded him that access to overseas colonies could easily be cut off by stronger naval powers, he intimated that the word "colonies" did not necessarily mean colonies in Africa or Asia. Rosenberg, who is head of the foreign-affairs department of the National Socialist Party and was designated at the Nürnberg congress as the "prophet laureate" of Germany, certainly speaks with as much authority on foreign affairs as any one in the Reich after Hitler. When he spoke of the necessity of a German economic drive down the Danube into the Balkans, he was voicing official Nazi policy. When he spoke of Germany's "historic right to develop the Balkans," he was expressing views that we shall hear with increasing frequency.

*Germany's
need for
a reserve
of raw
materials.*

*Germany in
the Balkans.*

The most significant point that Rosenberg brought

out in our conversation came in connection with the attitude of Britain and the United States toward his plans for expansion. "Our penetration of the Balkans," he told me, "does not bring us into conflict with British and American interests." In fact, he added, it is really to the advantage of the British to have the Reich concentrate its energies in the Balkans rather than elsewhere. Give it a free hand in the Balkans—everything south of Germany is "the Balkans" to the Nazis—and Germany will stay out of the British and American economic preserves. Herr Rosenberg's view of the matter is not entirely lost on London. On the day of the Teplitz-Schönau riot Henlein made a speech in which he proclaimed that on a recent visit to London he found "widespread sympathy" for the Sudetendeutsch movement. "The sympathies which the Czechs enjoyed three years ago are now on our side," he told his followers. Allowing for Herr Henlein's exaggeration, it is a fact that publicists like Lord Rothermere and J. L. Garvin have made considerable progress in their efforts to influence the British government to abandon Czechoslovakia to the Reich.

The first phase of the Nazi campaign to break up the Czech state, the political maneuvering to isolate the victim, is about over. When the next step will be taken will depend on the attitude of London, Paris, and Moscow, on the progress of Goering's economic autarchy, on von Blomberg's army, and on events in the Far East and the Mediterranean.

MUNICH

(A.D. 1938)

"HAD Europe gone on toward a balance of power alignment with Britain and France on one side and Germany and Italy on the other, the picture would have become dismally like that of Europe before the World War. If, on the other hand, these four powers can agree, they can run Europe. No country in the Old World can start and fight a war to which all of the signatories of the Four Power Treaty are really opposed."

With Chamberlain, Hitler, Daladier and Mussolini agreeing in Munich, making a four-power treaty and obviously eager to run Europe, the above comment was significant last week, although written in 1933 by able New York *Times*man Edwin L. James apropos of the Pact made at Rome in June of that year by exactly the same four Powers. Away back before the 1922 March on Rome, Editor Benito Mussolini used to tell his journalistic colleagues in Milan that Europe could find enduring

*Big Four
plan to
rule
Europe.*

Courtesy *Time Magazine*, © Copyright Time, Inc., 1938. From the original article "Four Chiefs, One Peace."

peace only by coming under the responsible dominance of the great powers of the West.

*Four-Power
Pact.*

On Jan. 30, 1933, when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, one of his first moves was to order General Göring to go to Rome and there propose a militant lineup of Germany and Italy against Britain and France, "Fascism against Democracy." Il Duce at this time rebuffed the overture, urged instead a four-power agreement "for peace." Edouard Daladier, who was then Premier of France (as he is today), saw the opportunity and rushed to confer at Geneva with Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald. The snowy-haired Scot next dashed to Rome, somewhat as Neville Chamberlain was to dash to Berchtesgaden and to Godesberg five years later, and the idea for a Four-Power Pact was agreed upon.

Instantly the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania) and Poland raised a protesting outcry, and before the Pact could be signed it was amended to restrict action under the Pact to what could be agreed upon under League auspices at Geneva, not merely by the Big Four but by all parties nearly or remotely concerned.

*1933 Pact
killed by
amend-
ments.*

These amendments killed the 1933 Pact, which was signed but not ratified by all the governments, and small European states, which had feared the Big Four, gave credit for its death largely to Dr. Edouard Benes.

"Oh, don't bother about Czechoslovakia!" was

Il Duce's prophetic comment in 1933. "Czechoslovakia will fall to pieces within ten years by the natural development of Germany!"

At one of the most dangerous moments of the Czechoslovak crisis last week, when Britain and France were mobilizing for war and Adolf Hitler was adamant in repeating that the German Army would "march" unless Prague yielded to all his demands, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain addressed the Empire and the U.S. by radio, declared Führer Hitler's demands "unreasonable." The next day, at a time of even greater tension he appealed to the Italian Premier to use his good offices with the Führer. *Czechoslovak crisis.*

At five minutes before noon on the fatal day, with German troops actually in motion toward the Czech border which they were to cross at 2 p.m., Il Duce in Rome rang up Chancellor Hitler at Berlin and they talked for 45 minutes. The Führer had received that morning a second appeal for peace from President Roosevelt, an appeal to which the only reply was an anti-Roosevelt tirade delivered that same evening to an audience of 175,000 Germans by No. 3 Nazi Goebbels. The results of the Mussolini-Hitler conversation were flashed to London where they brought the high point of drama in a speech to the House of Commons made by the Prime Minister while in the gallery Queen Mary wept with emotion and Earl Baldwin watched every move. *Roosevelt appeals for peace.*

M.P.'s said afterward that the lengthy speech of Neville Chamberlain seemed to many of them to be trending toward a declaration of war, then suddenly the Prime Minister began to tell how he had sent a personal letter to Il Duce urging him to contact the Führer. This Mussolini did. "In response," said Mr. Chamberlain, "Herr Hitler has agreed to postpone mobilization for twenty-four hours. Whatever views the honorable members have had about Signor Mussolini in the past, I believe every one will welcome his gesture of being willing to work with us for peace in Europe!"

Precisely at this moment, Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir John Simon handed the Prime Minister a message just received from the Führer, and Neville Chamberlain, after reading it, went on with emotion in his voice:

"I have something further to tell the House. I have now been informed by Herr Hitler that he invites me to meet him in Munich tomorrow morning. He has also invited Signor Mussolini and Monsieur Daladier. Signor Mussolini has accepted and I have no doubt that Monsieur Daladier will also accept. The House will not need to ask me what my answer will be!"

This touched off such a tempest of applause by M.P.'s as the House of Commons had not heard for a generation. Labor and Liberal opposition leaders joined the crowd of M.P.'s who rushed up to shake Neville Chamberlain's hand and tell him how relieved they and their constituents were that now Britain would not be bombed.

*Mussolini
willing to
work for
peace.*

*Invitation
to Munich.*

But Anthony Eden was seen to walk out, unsmiling, white-lipped.

Early next morning, no less than 14 of the 21 members of the British Cabinet spontaneously went to Heston Airport, jubilated in unprecedented fashion before news cameras as they said good-bye to Neville Chamberlain, wished him all success at Munich.

Adolf Hitler, who makes it his crude habit to rub the noses of distinguished foreign guests as deeply as possible in Nazidom, characteristically staged the Munich conference at the very hub of the Nazi movement, the *Führer-haus* (Leader's House).

Il Duce, as the ally of the Führer, alone rated to be met at the frontier of Germany by the Chancellor. The Italian Premier is also the only one of the four chiefs who can speak English, German, French and Italian. Nobody needed to speak Czech. The Big Four, in accordance with the original concept of 1933, were about to constitute themselves the arbiters of Europe, excluding from their councils Czechoslovakia, the League and the Soviet Union. M. Daladier and Mr. Chamberlain, arriving separately by air, were met by German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

*Arbiters of
Europe.*

Perhaps never before have statesmen of great powers negotiated so expeditiously. As fast as the Big Four agreed upon a basic point, their secretaries took this to an adjoining room, where it was dealt with by general staff officers and legal experts, ironing out all details.

*Quick
action.*

"I am not going to quibble about a village!" was one of Adolf Hitler's cracks. Doodles by Benito Mussolini at the Conference consisted of scratching short parallel lines, making large capital letters at random. Premier Daladier said afterward that he had dissuaded the Führer from certain demands touching Bratislava. Added the Frenchman: "If there had been any question threatening the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, I would have resolutely refused to consider negotiating further." Herr Hitler said later that M. Daladier is "*Ein ganzer Kerl*," which Nazi aides translated as "a real he-man."

*Four Chiefs
agree.*

Amenities such as these among the Four Chiefs smoothed the way for their agreement to dictate to Czechoslovakia what they hoped would be a final settlement. Its terms at first struck correspondents in Munich as complete capitulation to Germany, but within 24 hours fuller information modified these conclusions.

The final German demands, made at Godesberg, would have brought the Reich approximately 12,000 square miles of Czechoslovakia without a plebiscite, plus a possible 2,200 square miles by plebiscite, or a possible grand total of 14,200 square miles.

*Peace
terms.*

The Big Four last week decided that Germany is to get about 10,000 square miles without a plebiscite, plus a possible 2,000 square miles by plebiscites, or a possible grand total of 12,000 square miles.

In many respects of detail, Munich was milder than Godesberg. On the question of time, which was actually

the point on which war nearly broke out last week, Hitler had demanded 12,000 square miles by October 1. He got 300 square miles on October 1 and is to get a total of 10,000 square miles progressively by October 10. Moreover plebiscites will now be held under an international commission of five set up by the Big Four, consisting of one Czech, one Briton, one Frenchman, one German and one Italian—thus weighted 3 to 2 on the side of the democracies. Neutral observers predicted: "The Czechs now have a good chance to win most of the plebiscites," which are to be held by November 30. The Commission of Five is empowered to recommend "minor modifications in strictly ethnographical determination of the zones which are to be transferred without plebiscite."

*International
Commission.*

An annex to the pact of the Big Four decreed that Britain and France immediately join in "an international guarantee of the new boundaries of the Czechoslovak State against unprovoked aggression." This was an historic reversal of British policy, for up to now Britain has not been directly pledged to anything on the Continent, except via her League obligations. This pledge binds her in black and white to Czechoslovakia even more definitely than her unwritten entente binds her to France.

*Reversal
of British
policy.*

The Big Four, instead of settling the Polish and Hungarian minority questions in Czechoslovakia at Munich, left these open for 90 days pending action by the three

*Minority
question
unsettled.*

*Decision
left to
little
countries.*

little countries themselves, and only later if necessary will the Big Four settle that hash. The Munich pact concludes: "When the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia has been settled, Germany and Italy, for their part, will give a guarantee to Czechoslovakia."

[September 29, 1938. Agreement is signed at Munich between Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France, granting Germany's demands on Czechoslovakia. October 5. Germany occupies the Sudetenland. Edouard Benes resigns as president of Czechoslovakia. November 10. Kemal Ataturk of Turkey dies.]



THE AMERICAN GUNBOAT PAN-TY SINKING IN THE YANGTZE RIVER AT A POINT SOME TWENTY-FIVE MILES UP-RIVER FROM NANKING, DECEMBER 12, 1937. SHE WAS BOMBED BY JAPANESE AIRPLANES (Page 344)

Copyright, 1937. *Wide World Photos*

JAPAN GOES FISHING

(A.D. 1939)

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN

IT is a long way, geographically, from Munich to Canton; and there is little in common culturally between the old Bavarian capital, with its well-known excellencies in music, art, and beer and its new Nazi public buildings, swastikas, and Storm Troopers, and the teeming, turbulent City of Rams, metropolis of South China and spiritual home of Chinese nationalism. But there is a direct casual connection between the Munich Conference, with its capitulation of Great Britain and France to Hitler, and the hoisting of the Rising Sun Flag over Canton three weeks later. Convinced that its "anti-Communist" ally, Germany, held the upper hand in Europe, Japan felt free to put aside all regard for British susceptibilities and to march boldly into what has always been considered a British sphere of influence in South China.

*How the
Munich
Conference
affected
Asia.*

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*Munitions
enter China
from
Hong Kong.*

*Effects
of Japan's
occupation
of Canton.*

When two weeks before the Japanese landing in South China, I visited the proud British crown colony of Hong Kong, perched on the imposing rock overlooking the magnificent harbor, it was booming with the familiar swollen prosperity of wartime trade. Japan had sealed up every other port of consequence in China, but Hong Kong, under the Union Jack, could not be touched. And through Hong Kong a steady stream of munitions had been pouring into China by rail and road, with Canton as the main point of transshipment. The munitions included airplanes from the United States and Great Britain, tanks from the Soviet Union, machine guns and small arms from Germany (business was business, despite the Anti-Communist Pact), Sweden, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia. The swift and almost bloodless occupation of Canton is probably accounted for by a combination of military incompetence and unpreparedness on the Chinese side and a judicious distribution of "silver bullets" among the more approachable Chinese commanders. It has placed Japan squarely athwart China's most vital route of communication with the outside world, destroyed the significance of the Canton-Hankow Railway, and reduced Hong Kong temporarily to the status of a large rock in the Pacific Ocean, bound to suffer lean times so long as its commercial hinterland is cut off.

Japan has drawn two lessons from the Munich Conference and its aftermath. The first is that the democracies are on the run before the dictatorships. Typical in this

connection is the comment of the Berlin correspondent of the *Osaka Mainichi*, a leading Japanese newspaper: "I need scarcely say that the Munich Conference ended in a sweeping victory for the Italo-German axis and in complete submission for the Franco-British bloc."

The second impression in Japan is that no fundamental reconciliation has taken place in Europe, that the arms race is destined to continue indefinitely. And a divided Europe is a primary desideratum of Japanese foreign policy. It is believed in Tokyo that, so long as Great Britain and France see formidable potential enemies at their doors, they will have neither ships nor guns nor men to spare for backing up any vigorous policy in the Far East. Fishing in the troubled waters of Europe promises to be a profitable occupation, in the opinion of most Japanese.

European troubles an aid to Japan.

It is interesting to note that such a representative Chinese nationalist spokesman as Mr. T. V. Soong accepts this view that Europe's disunity is Japan's opportunity. I talked with this well-known financier and brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek during a recent trip to Canton, and he said to me in substance:—

"What is worst for China is a state of suspense, of suspicious armed peace in Europe, because this prevents China's friends in Europe from making their proper influence felt in the Orient. War in Europe might bring some disadvantages to China in the beginning. But in the end China would benefit, because the democratic coun-

European conditions affect China.

tries, although slower-moving, possess far greater resources than the dictatorships and would emerge as victors. China would share in the benefits of this victory. China would also stand to gain if there were a definite appeasement in Europe."

Another aspect of this situation was touched on by Mr. Toshio Shiratori, frankest and most extreme of Japan's diplomats, whom I recently interviewed on the eve of his departure to take up the post of Ambassador to Italy. Mr. Shiratori, who believes that if Great Britain can hold India with seventy thousand British troops Japan can hold China with one or two hundred thousand, gave the following answer when I asked him about the significance for Japan of the tripartite Anti-Communist Pact between Japan, Germany, and Italy:—

"It has prevented the powers that are unfriendly to Japan from assuming too provocative an attitude. At the time of the Manchurian crisis, in 1931-1932, Japan stood alone. Now it has powerful friends. An attack on Japan would directly or indirectly lead up to a world war."

Would Japan have been a participant if the threatened European war of last autumn had broken out? At the height of the crisis I was in Hong Kong, an admirable Far Eastern listening post under present conditions. One could have tea with an ardent spokesman for left-wing Chinese nationalism and dine with an unofficial Japanese emissary in the same hotel.

The British authorities at Hong Kong had made all

*Japan's
confidence
in her
ability to
hold China.*

preparations for the worst—namely, for Japanese intervention on the side of the Fascist powers. Practically all the British warships in Chinese waters had been shifted from the exposed ports of North and Central China, where they would have been easy prizes, to the relative safety of fortified Hong Kong. One of the two battalions of British troops at Shanghai was transferred to Hong Kong with lightning speed just when the outlook in Europe was darkest. And it was clearly the British intention, in the event of war, to withdraw all troops from the indefensible International Settlement at Shanghai and from the British Concessions at Tientsin, concentrating all available forces for a stand at Hong Kong.

*British
preparations
in China.*

The defenses of the Colony had been unobtrusively strengthened with underground hangars, new gun emplacements, a line of pillboxes along the frontier on the mainland. Volunteers for anti-aircraft work were in demand.

*Defenses for
Hong Kong.*

Faces in Hong Kong were as grave and anxious as in any European capital during the fateful days of late September.

But I am inclined to doubt whether Japan would have taken a European war as the signal for a rush on Hong Kong. This would have meant the automatic cessation of all trade between Japan and the British Empire, and quite probably with the United States as well. For it is unlikely that the United States would have continued to supply Japan with the financial sinews for a drive against

Great Britain that would, in the long run, not spare other Western interests and possessions in the Far East.

I do not share the view that Japan could be "brought to its knees" by economic sanctions within six months (a favorite term of armchair economic strategists) or within any definitely predictable period of time. History shows too many examples (Germany in the World War and the American South are good cases in point) when war continued long after one side, by all orthodox rules, was not only bankrupt but also exhausted in material resources.

Japanese business sentiment and moderate political opinion would certainly have been solidly against such a leap into the unknown as a stoppage of the greater part of the country's foreign trade. Even the army and navy would not have welcomed a cutting off of such military necessities as oil, copper, and scrap iron. To some extent, barring prompt and effective Anglo-American naval action, these deficiencies could be made good by raids on the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, and Malaya. But this would be the strategy of desperate emergency, rather than of conscious desire and design. Japan has quite enough on its hands in China without seeking new problems by disrupting normal trade contacts.

The chances are that Japan would have stood aloof from a European war, at least in its first stages. It would have pressed on its campaign of conquest in China. It would have driven as hard a bargain as possible with

*Economic
sanctions
not always
successful.*

*Japan needs
trade
contacts.*

Great Britain and France for nonintervention. But I do not believe it would have taken the risk of a direct plunge into the European conflict unless the course of hostilities had clearly designated Germany and Italy as the winning side.

Now the imminent threat of war has given way to what Lord Halifax calls armed peace in Europe. At the same time, the capture of Hankow and Canton represents an important milestone in the Sino-Japanese war.

Japanese achievements in China.

The first phase of the Japanese offensive in China, the occupation of the ports, the largest cities, and the railways, has been virtually completed. While Chiang Kai-shek is apparently determined to continue resistance and unquestionably possesses the material means to carry on warfare for some time, the character of the struggle seems certain to change. There will be fewer big campaigns and battles, with large cities as goals. Operations will be more mobile and on a smaller scale. More importance will be attached to Chinese proficiency, or lack of proficiency, in guerrilla fighting. The record on this score thus far is rather mixed. In mountainous Shansi Province, in the Northwest, and in some adjacent regions, the Chinese Communists, who possess a decade of experience in partisan warfare, have incessantly harassed the Japanese lines of communication. On the other hand, the showing of the Chinese guerrillas in other regions, notably in Central China and in Shantung, has been feeble, causing little damage to the Japanese and merely

Character of Chinese guerrilla warfare.

*Japan's
statement
of aims.*

adding a new element of banditry on the countryside. Unquestionably Japan is looking forward to further success in its policy of fishing in European troubled waters. The capture of Canton and Hankow was quickly followed by the publication of a government statement defining Japan's war aim as "the establishment of a new order which will ensure the permanent stability of East Asia." This order, it is stated, is to be based on "a tripartite relationship of mutual aid and coordination between Japan, Manchukuo, and China."

It is a Tokyo joke of the 1937 vintage that a foreign visitor, annoyed by repeated questions as to whether Japan's "real intentions" were properly understood abroad, finally resorted to the crisp retort: "I'm afraid they are."

*Plan for
Japanese
hegemony
over China.*

Certainly there is little excuse for misunderstanding these intentions now, when the Japanese flag is flying from the Great Wall to Canton, when Japanese armies have advanced into the interior of China beyond Hankow, when Japan has acquired almost complete control of China's railways and sea outlets. This is not a mere punitive expedition, designed to force from China some concession, to slice off a bit of territory or take over a strategic port. It is nothing short of an effort to establish Japanese hegemony, Manchukuo style, over a large part of China. This is, in essence, the "new order" which Japan envisages in East Asia, an order as divergent from the regime established by the Washington Treaties of

1922 as the maps of Europe to-day and tomorrow differ from those which were traced after the World War. Indeed, Japanese often recognizes a parallel between the crumbling of the Versailles structure in Europe and the breakdown of the Washington arrangements for the Far East.

For the Nine-Power Treaty Japan proposes to substitute a three-power pact, in which its voice will be that of its junior partners, Manchukuo and those parts of China which are under Japanese control. As for the "open door," if Japanese plans are realized, it will be open just as far as and no farther than Japanese political, military, and economic exigencies permit. It is the contention, no doubt sincere, of Japanese spokesmen that foreign powers will make more money out of trade with a Japan-controlled China than by dealing with an independent China. But this is a purely incidental consideration. Japan sees in the present world situation an opportunity to carve out a vast continental empire with a minimum of political risk, and is making the most of this opportunity.

Just as Kipling's phrase, the "white man's burden," furnished the moral apologia for the Western imperialism of the generations before the war, so the doctrine of Pan-Asianism throws a convenient cloak over the naked contours of conquest for Japan. The war in China is represented as a crusade to save Asia from the domination of the white race. As Mr. Tatsuo Kawai, official spokes-

*The fate
of the
"open door"
in China.*

*Pan-
Asianism an
excuse for
conquest.*

man of the Foreign Office, recently wrote: "What Europe and America expected of Asia was that it should forever remain a colony or semi-colony of theirs. That Asia should be kept in such a state is quite intolerable to all Asiatics, whether they be Japanese or Chinese or members of other nationalities."

Here is an idea that is practically more subversive of Western colonial interests than the agitation of the Communist International. Should Mr. Kawai's theory be taken literally (and many army and navy officers do take it literally), Japan would enjoy a moral roving commission to terminate this "intolerable situation" by "liberating" the colonies of Western powers in Asia. This is not, to be sure, an immediate issue, for Japan is too deeply involved in China to look further afield.

What are the prospects of this modern attempt to follow in the footsteps of the Mongols and Manchus who conquered China in the Middle Ages? The thing that saved China from reduction to colonial status in the last century was not its own military strength. China's unwillingness or inability to emulate Japan in learning what the West had to teach in industry and armaments left it helpless against the military and naval attacks of comparatively small foreign forces. China's effective defenses were its size, its remoteness from the expanding European powers of that time, and the rivalries of these powers. No single country was strong enough to swallow China whole.

*Western
colonial
interests
at stake.*

*China's
most
effective
defenses
in the past.*

Has the situation now altered so that Japan can reasonably aspire to the creation of what will be a vast continental empire, regardless of the name that may be applied to it? The element of distance is not among Japan's handicaps. In this respect Japan as a conqueror in China enjoys an immense advantage over any European or American power. China's size, of course, remains a formidable obstacle, although this is somewhat diminished, especially in the regions within a few hundred miles of the coast, by the railways and roads which have been built during the last two or three decades.

*Obstacle
in China's
vast size.*

Prophets of disaster for Japan have sometimes compared the Japanese position with that of Napoleon in Moscow. This analogy is, I think, misleading for several reasons. Napoleon lacked even a mile of railway and had no large river as a means of bringing up supplies. The Japanese, on the contrary, are able to camp down indefinitely in the large towns which they have occupied, using railways and waterways to bring up such supplies as they cannot obtain on the spot. Moreover, the Japanese technical military superiority to the Chinese today is far greater than was that of the French in relation to the Russians of 1812. There has been no battle in the present war in which the Chinese made a showing comparable with that of the Russians at Borodino.

*Railways
and
waterways
serve Japan.*

Is Japan strong enough to brush aside its international rivals, to drive the white race, politically at least, out of the Far East? Four major powers, Great Britain, the

*British,
American,
and French
opinions.*

United States, France, and the Soviet Union have been adversely affected by the forward march of the Japanese legions and have made no secret of their resentment. Great Britain so far has been much the heaviest sufferer, because it possessed the largest vested interests in China. But the United States is indignant over the closing of the open door. Japan in South China is a nightmare to the French colonial authorities in Indo-China. The Soviet Union knows that its hold on Eastern Siberia becomes more precarious as the Japanese flank an increasingly large part of Siberia by their westward push in North China.

Taken together, these four powers command military, naval, and economic resources far in excess of those of Japan. Does this mean that Japan is riding for a fall in provoking their displeasure? Only time can give a definite answer to this question; but the members of the anonymous corporative group of military leaders who are wielding decisive influence on the shaping of Japan's policy are confident that it will be in the negative—that Japan is on the highroad to empire, not to downfall. They regard the formation of a hostile Washington-London-Paris-Moscow bloc as a paper fantasy which will never materialize.

*Japan and
Soviet
Russia.*

Take first the Soviet Union, the sole power that is in a geographical position to fight a land war against Japan in China. Japan has watched with keen interest the growth of the Soviet military establishment in Eastern Siberia.

the rising line of forts on the Soviet bank of the Amur River, the emergence of new airdromes and submarine bases. It has made corresponding upward adjustments in its own troop concentrations and military defenses in Manchukuo.

Yet, rightly or wrongly, the consensus of Japanese military opinion is inclined to write off the Soviet Union as a serious factor in the politics of East Asia. The continual purges which have gone on for more than two years without showing any signs of coming to an end, the latest victim being Marshal Vassily Bluecher, Commander in Chief of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, have been largely instrumental in removing Japanese apprehension of the Soviet capacity to wage an offensive war.

Judgments in Tokyo, as elsewhere, are divided as to the credibility of the trials, open and secret, which have accompanied the execution and "disappearance" of so many Soviet generals, admirals, diplomats, captains of state industry, and veteran revolutionaries. But the Japanese feel that no interpretation which can be placed on the trials is flattering to Soviet political and military strength. Whether the Soviet system, two decades after the Revolution, is actually as honeycombed with treason and sabotage as the amazing allegations at the trials would indicate, or whether Stalin is cynically employing false or exaggerated accusations in order to rid himself of all potential rivals, is hard to determine. At the moment the Japanese fear little from a regime lacking in

*"Purges"
may have
weakened
Soviet
Russia.*

*Probable
inefficiency
of Soviet
Union
in war.*

elementary loyalty, as in qualities of efficiency and coordination. What has made an especially strong impression on the Japanese military mind is the setting of commissars spies to watch every high officer in the Red Army. This system is regarded as quite incompatible with the successful conduct of operations which require quick decision and initiative.

*Fighting at
Chang-
kufeng.*

The "little war" around the border height of Changkufeng has not enhanced the Japanese respect for Soviet fighting capacity. The versions of this fighting circulated from Tokyo and from Moscow are so divergent that a neutral observer is well advised to reserve judgment on many points. But it is the general Japanese impression that the Soviet tanks gave a poor exhibition and that the Soviet infantry showed little stomach for the hand-to-hand fighting which Japanese officers regard as the supreme test of an army's morale. One thing, at least, is certain. If the Changkufeng conflict was designed to retard the Japanese advance in China, it conspicuously failed to achieve its purpose.

*Britain and
France
occupied
in Europe.*

The likelihood that Great Britain and France will exert naval pressure in the Orient is not taken seriously in Tokyo. Both countries are regarded as too deeply immersed in Europe's troubled waters, with French internal dissension as a further weakening factor.

There remains America, most disengaged and potentially strongest of the large powers. America bulks larger than Great Britain, France, or the Soviet Union in

Japan's reckoning of conquest. It is significant in this connection that the tirades of wrath which are periodically unloosed in the Japanese press against Great Britain and France are never directed against America. The Press in Japan is not so completely an organ of the state as it is in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. But it is highly amenable to official suggestion; and the Japanese authorities have shown a desire to reduce the risk of incidents affecting Americans by damping down polemics against America, even when American criticism of Japan has been most bitter. There has also been a little more effort to offer compensations for injuries to life and property when the case has involved Americans.

*America
may confine
herself
to notes.*

But Japan is convinced, for several reasons, that America will not fight for an open door that is fast becoming an historical memory. There is, first, the supposed reluctance of Washington to take a position in advance of that of other countries with Far Eastern interests. And since Great Britain and France, under the shadow of Hitler, are considered incapable of strong action, it is assumed that America will not go beyond scoring legal points in diplomatic notes and perhaps inflicting pinch economic reprisals. It is remarkable how often the European situation crops up as an indirect determining factor in shaping Japanese policies and actions.

*European
situation
influences
Japan.*

Frequent expressions of isolationist and pacifist sentiment and the division of opinion over the New Deal are considered additional indications that America will not

*Importance
of American
trade with
Japan.*

resort to arms. Another consideration is the relatively small stake represented by American trade and investments in China. (The total value of American investments in China is about \$200,000,000, approximately one sixth of Great Britain's total. America's export trade to China in the three years preceding the war averaged about one quarter of America's sales to Japan and was about 1.5 per cent of America's total export trade.)

It may be that Japan's analysis of the American attitude leaves out of account some intangible emotional factors. Clearly it is founded on the assumption that there will be no second *Panay* incident. But it will require more than diplomatic notes, however stiffly worded, to convince Japan that America is in earnest about the Far East.

Japan believes that possession is nine parts of victory; that foreign governments, however much they may protest at first, will finally accept the hard fact that Japanese locks have been placed on practically all of China's doors. Hitler's demonstration of the possibility of getting what one wants by giving a convincing exhibition of willingness to fight for it has not been lost on Japan. This is also true as regards the crumbling of paper schemes for a coalition of powers much stronger than Nazi Germany.

*Question
of Chinese
resistance.*

Apart from foreign opposition there remains the question of Chinese resistance. Indeed, there is a close relationship between these two stumblingblocks of Japan's path of empire. Foreign indirect aid to China in the form of action calculated to harass Japan is likely to rise

and fall in pretty direct ratio to the proved ability of China to defend itself. Japan has won battles and taken China's seven largest cities (Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, Tsingtao, and Nanking). But it cannot reasonably regard the war as finished until the nationalist regime is definitely overthrown.

Were such an overthrow to occur, with Chiang Kai-shek a fugitive and some of his associates making terms with the Japanese, the ground would be pretty well cut from under foreign protests against anything Japan might choose to undertake in China. The *fait accompli* of Abyssinia and of Austria would have been repeated on a larger scale. On the other hand, any conspicuous Chinese success would strengthen the groups in foreign countries which favor a vigorous anti-Japanese policy.

*Japan's
military and
diplomatic
conflicts.*

So the next months, quite possibly the next years, will see Japan engaged in a twofold struggle, on the military front against Chiang Kai-shek, and on a front that is as yet only diplomatic against the powers with political and economic interests in China. The stakes in the struggle are high. For Japan the alternative is world power or downfall. For China the question is whether its development is or is not to proceed under Japanese hegemony. For the Soviet Union the issue is the security of its eastern marches; for the Western powers, the maintenance of old vested interests and of new opportunities for developments in the Far East.

[January 3, 1939. Japanese cabinet resigns in a split over the policy in China. January 5. Roosevelt asks Congress to authorize a strong rearmament program. January 14. Great Britain in a note to Japan declares she will not tolerate closing of the "Open Door" in China. January 26. The Rebel Army in Spain captures Barcelona. February 14. The Russians battle the Japanese on the northwest border in an undeclared war. February 5. France opens her borders to the fleeing Loyalist Army. The Spanish Rebel forces are in power. February 8. Arabs demand autonomy and the abrogation of the Balfour treaty at the Palestine Conference in London. February 9. Britain and France recognize Franco's regime in Spain. February 10. Pope Pius XI dies. February 13. Mexico expropriates American owned land in Mexico for collective farms. March 1. Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, is elected Pope and assumes the name of Pope Pius XII. March 14. Hitler orders Prague to set up three separate states. The German army prepares to move on Slovakia.

March 15, 1939. Hitler dissolves the Czechoslovak Nation, making Bohemia-Moravia a protectorate. Nazi troops enter Prague. Rumanian troops invest border towns of Carpatho-Ukraine to protect minorities. Hungary occupies Ruthenia making a common frontier with Poland. Great Britain recalls her ambassador from Berlin. The Palestine Conference ends without agreement. March 18. Dictatorial powers are conferred on Premier

*Barcelona
captured.*

*Death of
Pius XI.*

*Czecho-
slovakia
seized
by Nazis.*

Daladier of France. March 21. The pre-war port of Memel is ceded by Lithuania to Germany. March 28. Madrid surrenders to the Rebel Army and the Spanish Civil War ends. Japan annexes the Spratley Islands southwest of Manila as possible air bases. April 1. The United States recognizes Franco's regime in Spain. April 4. King Ghazi of Iraq dies and his 3-year old son is proclaimed Feisal II. April 8. Italian troops seize four ports and march on the capital Tirana in a rapid conquest of *Italy conquers Albania.* Albania.]

ELEGY FOR ATATURK

(A.D. 1939)

MARGUERITE ARNOLD

IN Turkey, on a hilltop overlooking a vast Anatolian plateau and a city which fifteen years ago did not exist, Kemal Ataturk lies buried in a Museum of Ethnography. Outside, the austere figure of the general, seated on his horse, is mounted high in bone-dry air, calm, portentous, his eager horse about to step from the wreath-carved base. Inside, amid a loud clatter of unpleasant echoes, are encased the insignia of the Whirling Dervishes and other impedimenta of a mighty, fanatical Islam which, in the same fifteen years, has been relegated from a political present to an ethnographical past. *Ataturk's burial place and statue.*

In the funeral procession walked President Ismet Inonu, the man best fitted, in the eyes of eighteen million Turks, to succeed Ataturk. That day they gave him scarcely a glance in their mourning. He worked with Ataturk for twenty years, as chief of his staff at the Caucasus front, at the Syrian front in the World War, as *Ataturk's successor.*

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secret ally in the Ministry of War in Constantinople while Kemal was organizing rebellion in Anatolia, as a Minister of the Revolution, as head of the army that repulsed the victorious Greeks. He conducted the armistice of Mudania with the Allies that ended Greek occupation. At Lusanne he ended special foreign rights in Turkey, and through exchange of populations struck the first blow for national unity and for the abolition of the *millet*s—independent racial groups of Armenians, Bulgarians, Jews, Syrians, Arabs and Greeks who were not Turkish citizens.

For thirteen years he had been premier, watching over the new state. He heard the new legislation as it was being formulated by its creator. He saw eye to eye with Ataturk in his main policies, differing at times as to methods of carrying them out. He prepared, with Celal Bayer, present Premier and former Minister of National Economy, the two five-year plans which have organized and synthesized the rapid economic development of Turkey. He is said to be practical, resourceful, diplomatic, stubborn and a fine executive with a genius for detail. Inonu will carry on the state. It is a state realistically and wisely organized to suit the fundamental welfare of a people in a grim plight. Nothing need be added or changed for years to come. In this organization Inonu worked, and he will carry it forward. In foreign affairs he will give Turkey his skill as a diplomat, higher, it is said, than that of Ataturk.

*Inonu's
services
to Turkey.*

*The new
President's
character
and ability.*

There has probably never before been in history a revolution that accomplished so much in so short a time, nor one so completely dominated by the genius of a single man. That man was a general, educated solely in the military schools of the Ottoman Empire, leading ragged soldiers to success against the British at Gallipoli, organizing the Anatolian generals to fight against the Sultan and the Allies, but turning suddenly into a statesman, formulating the constitution of a republic, making bold decisions of policy so suddenly and compellingly that objections could not arise, leading a whole people to literacy, new laws, new ways of thought, new family life, new schools, machines and, above all, new interpretations of an old religion. It was a religion that penetrated to all departments of life with the almost literal tenets of a prophet living thirteen centuries earlier. The battle against Islam as a base for the whole political, economic and social life of Turkey was the first and, in a sense, the complete accomplishment of Ataturk, now lying at rest in Ankara while eighteen million Moslems continue to mourn.

Great achievements of the Turkish revolution.

What was this Islam? It was a legal system that attempted to cover all aspects of living as dealt with specifically by Mohammed in his revelation from the Angel Gabriel—the Koran—and in his deeds and sayings—the Hadith—as interpreted by four Mohammedan doctors in the ninth century, who furthermore set up elaborate rules for future interpretation. The Sultan-

Ataturk's struggle with Islam.

Caliph was the head. When the Sultan, deposed, fled to a British battleship, the Sheik-ul-Islam remained, the head of the doctors of law who for centuries had ruled on every important decision as to its conformity with religious law. He had declared the World War a Holy War, and had pronounced a *fatwa* applying the criminal code to Mustapha Kemal.

*First Grand
National
Assembly.*

There is grim humor in the edict of the first Grand National Assembly at Ankara in 1920 decreeing the headquarters of the Sheik-ul-Islam and the whole Ministry of the Evkaf to be at Ankara. The Assembly also declared its right to make laws independent of Islamic treatises. This was only an attempt. Kemal had to move slowly. His generals and his people were Moslems. A new Caliph was elected, in 1922, with spiritual power only. Kemal turned his attention to the political state. On October 29, 1923, he proclaimed the Turkish Republic. In 1924, the Caliphate was abolished, having become "a historical memory." This was the beginning of the Turkish revolution. Even then, so fixed in the minds of the Assembly was the idea of reforming the persons holding high office—not the office—that deputies suggested to Kemal that he become Caliph. He responded: "Do not attempt to make me ridiculous by tricking me out in a fantastic role." Thus the head of Islam for eleven centuries went down. Kemal had stumped the countryside to tell the people that a recent move to make the Caliph head of a Pan-Islamic union the world over was

*Caliphate
abolished.*

nonsense, that such a union was a "fool's paradise."

The affairs of Islam were placed under a Presidency of Religious Affairs, attached to the premiership and made up of deputies appointed by the premier. The vast wealth of the Evkaf was controlled by the state. All functionaries of Islam, down to the *muezzin* who calls to prayer from the minaret, became employees of the state. Today, the Presidency of Religious Affairs writes sermons for use in mosques, building up a new integration of Moslem faith and state objectives. *Islam and the state.*

But Islam underlay all education and law. In 1924, the Moslem schools were closed. These were the famous *medressehs*, theological seminaries which taught, in Arabic, books of religious law, a little philosophy and no science, and the parish schools next to the mosques, where children learned to repeat chapters of the Koran in a language of which they knew nothing. There were few secondary and high schools. The small number of law schools, the military schools, the University of Istanbul—all education was placed under a Ministry of Public Instruction, and the Republic set itself the stupendous task of installing a whole new system. Even so, the first Turkish census, in 1927, showed 28,705 mosques and 14,425 schools.

In Turkey today there are kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, normal schools for music, painting, manual professions and physical culture, professional schools, high schools and universities. *Reform of Turkey's educational system.*

*Practical
courses in
Turkish
schools.*

tion under the state is compulsory, free for all but the well-to-do but carrying in certain technical schools, when free, an obligation to teach for three years for the government after training has been completed. The schools are co-educational and the teaching has practical application to life. Educational methods resemble those called "progressive" in the United States. Trade schools in particular flourish. This writer will never forget a school in Ankara where boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen were learning the building trades—masonry, carpentry, roofing, plastering, woodwork and furniture-making—preparing to go back to their villages to build houses and shops for Turkey at high pay. At eighteen they are village architects. The work of these boys, who built their school as part of their training, was amazing. Education in Turkey is, perhaps the leading miracle of Ataturk.

*Reasons for
abolishing
the fez.*

In 1924 the religious courts and judges were also abolished and the organic structures of the Republic were elaborated. But in 1925, the work of the state was impeded by rebellious Kurds, fanatically religious tribes. It was then that the fez, "which sat on our heads like a symbol of ignorance, of fanaticism, of hatred against progress and civilization," was abolished by Ataturk. The fez distinguished the Turk from the westerner, but the fez and the cloth wound round the fez had made two classes of Turks, lay and clerical. Moreover, being brimless, it allowed the too-easy, empty touching of the fore-

head to the ground five times a day in prayer. It was Kemal's thrust at the fanaticism of the most ignorant in a way that they could understand. The loss of the fez drove home the defeat of Islam as the dictator of political, social and economic life. Kemal closed the holy graves and the secret religious orders as a further reminder. The Whirling Dervishes were no more. That year, clocks and calendars took on western faces. *Changes in clocks and calendars.*

In 1926, the Turkish Civil Code replaced all statutes of the Koran. This code, adapted from the Swiss, made far-reaching changes in marriage, divorce and family relations. Women were given legal rights: polygamy and harems came to an end. The Law on Debts, the Turkish Penal Code and the Commercial Code were adopted that year. Judges and lawyers had to change, after six months' study, from oriental to occidental code, a tremendous revolution in itself. Thus Islam was removed from the law. *Changes in laws.*

In 1928 the article that proclaimed Islam to be the state religion of Turkey was removed from her constitution, and the Koran as the oath of office was replaced by an oath of honor. Freedom of religious thought was ensured in a new article. In the law of citizenship, passed at this time, Islamic religion is not a qualification.

There remained the necessity of eliminating Islam from the eye and from the very form in which ideas enter the mind. The language of Islam and of education had been Arabic. The characters of the Turkish tongue were Arabic, although lay people could not read them. *Arabic alphabet dropped.*

*Intensive
adult
education
enforced.*

The first census showed only 8.16 per cent of a population of 13,600,000 able to read. A whole nation had to learn international numerals. Then, on October 3, 1928, a new alphabet in Latin type was ready. The next year adult education such as the world had never known was teaching a nation to read and write its own language. Between 1928 and 1936, 1,393,941 persons learned to read and write in the evening schools. The metric system was introduced in 1931, and finally, in 1934, all clerical garb—Moslem, Russian, Greek Orthodox, Catholic—disappeared from the streets, to be worn only during religious services. The *muezzin* calls to prayer from the minaret in Turkish, wearing European clothes. Allah is *Tanri*. The disappearance of the jaunty red fez and the white and green turbans and the black gowns from the famous Galata Bridge, so much bewailed by the tourists, means that a whole nation, in a few short years, has broken the grip of Islam on its lay society. In 1935 Turks were compelled to take family names and titles were abolished. Sunday became the day of rest for all religions.

*Turkish
philology
studied.*

But Turkish was encumbered with Arabic and Persian words, dragging in complicated grammar. The Society for the Study of the Turkish Language was recently founded by Ataturk to study philology and write dictionaries. Turkish words are sent in from remote villages to be published in the newspapers. Everybody is interested. Ataturk had his work near his heart to the last, and himself studied philology. In 1937 this writer had a

morning appointment with the president of the society, which was canceled through the American Embassy with the apology that "the president had been kept up very late that night by the President of the Republic." It is this ruthlessness, pushing reforms that look fanatical to the outsider but rouse a people out of fatalistic superstition, that made Ataturk great.

All these reforms were undertaken boldly by Ataturk while many of his deputies could not even see what there was to reform. He made use of every emergency of the new government to strike at Islam. He showed again and again that it was not practical to keep the old Islam, and at the same time build a state which gives land to the peasants and machines to the land.

*Ataturk's
boldness in
pushing
reforms.*

A rider on a horse—a grave in a museum—but a man who could say to deputies in the grip of bewildering necessities: "Gentlemen, it is an actual fact. In reality you have nothing to discuss. It has come to a question of merely giving expression to what has long been an accomplished fact." So the dictator overruled the Assembly; it is better to say that this man recognized and obeyed the supreme dictatorship of facts.

While the acacia had time to grow only to the second story of buildings in Ankara, the will of a strong man raised a framework far higher, founded a new state, eradicated Islam, set up new laws and education, a new economic system, transformed a country. Turkey today looks poor, the old palaces are shabby, people never seem

*Turkey
poor but
hopeful.*

to have new clothes. But the Turks have hope. They walk with the step of those pushing forward in a single cause.

Any foreigner who has been in Turkey and visited Ankara, who has talked with government officials and possesses the slightest inkling of the changes instituted by the late Gazi, must feel the loss of this man and mourn with the Turkish people. The horseman in Ankara looks out over the desert, still summoning the Anatolian peasant to new life, literacy, work and hope. His own words might be his epitaph: "Those inclined to compromise cannot accomplish a revolution."

*Ataturk's
epitaph.*

[May 5, 1939. Russia stiffens her demands on concessions in British security program. Maxim Litvinov, Russian Foreign Commissar, is relieved of his post in favor of V. M. Molotov. May 12. Chamberlain warns Germany that aggression against Danzig means war. May 17. The British "White Paper" stating the policy to be pursued in Palestine causes Arab-Jewish riots. British King and Queen visit Canada. May 20. Transatlantic mail service is begun with the flight of the *Yankee Clipper* to Lisbon, Spain. May 21. The United States submarine *Squalus* founders off Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with fifty-nine on board. Thirty-three are rescued.]

*United
States
submarine
Squalus
founders.*

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